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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the education of people with blindness in China and India prior to the establishment of formal schools for the blind. Key people who advanced the education of people with blindness are highlighted, such as missionary teacher Mary Gutzlaff, who integrated Chinese orphan girls with blindness into her school at Macau. One of the girls, Agnes Gutzlaff, became the first trained person in China to teach people with blindness how to read, using first the Lucas system, then Moon's embossed script. Meanwhile, in the late 1840s, a class of adults with blindness received formal instruction from Reverend Thomas McClatchie at Shanghai. In 1856, Reverend Edward Syle opened an industrial workshop at Shanghai for older people with blindness. The section of the paper on India highlights the integration of William Cruickshanks, who was blind, into regular schools and his subsequent administration of several ordinary South Indian schools. The Bengal Military Orphan Asylum had orphans with blindness in its school and adopted the Lucas system by 1840. This was overtaken by Moon's system of script for blind readers, which was translated into several Indian languages from 1853 onwards. The work of missionary women in India is also described. (Contains 251 references.) (CR)

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BLIND & SIGHTED PIONEER TEACHERS

IN 19TH CENTURY CHINA & INDIA

M. Miles

ABSTRACT

Blindness and blind people appear in literature from Chinese and Indian antiquity. Legal and charitable provisions existed, and blind characters played a role in epic history. Most blind Asians however lived rather constricted lives. The 'official' starting dates for formal blind schools are 1874 in China, and 1886 in India; but in fact there was some well documented educational work with blind people from the 1830s onward in both countries. Two of the key 19th century special teachers were blind women.

China In 1837, missionary teacher Mary Gutzlaff integrated several young, blind, Chinese orphan girls in her small boarding school at Macau. One named 'Agnes Gutzlaff' was educated in London and returned in 1856 to Ningpo, then later moved to Shanghai. Agnes became the first trained person in China to teach blind people to read, using first the Lucas system, then Moon's embossed script. Agnes was a musician, and also supported herself by teaching English. Meanwhile, in the late 1840s, a class of blind adults had received formal instruction from Rev. Thomas McClatchie at Shanghai. In 1856, Rev. Edward Syle opened an industrial workshop at Shanghai for older blind people.

India William Cruickshanks, blind since his boyhood at Madras, was educated with sighted boys. From 1838 to 1876 he was head of several ordinary South Indian schools. The Bengal Military Orphan Asylum, Calcutta, having blind orphans in its school, adopted the Lucas system by 1840. This was overtaken by Moon for blind readers in several Indian languages from 1853 onwards. Missionary women such as Jane Leupolt, Miss Fuller, Mrs Daüble, Elizabeth Alexander, Mrs Erhardt, used Moon to teach blind children in integrated classes across Northern India in the 1860s and 1870s. The first regular teacher at an 'industrial school' for blind people at Amritsar was Miss Asho, a blind young woman who had been educated in an ordinary school at Lahore. Asho read first Moon, then Braille, and was competent at various handicrafts.

Later accounts of the beginnings of formal education for blind people in Asia have omitted the cultural background, several decades of 'casual integration' in ordinary schools, the early use of Lucas and Moon scripts, and the prominent part played by teachers who were blind. This paper describes the missing decades with extensive reference to primary sources, and suggests some reasons for the bias in later accounts.

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BLIND & SIGHTED PIONEER TEACHERS IN 19TH CENTURY CHINA & INDIA

M. Miles

In both India and China, records exist of blind people formally being taught to read in the late 1830s, and of blind people teaching others to read from the 1850s onward. The Lucas script was used, then Moon's embossed type and finally Braille. The teaching activities first took place 'casually integrated' in ordinary school settings. There were also formal efforts in both countries to teach blind people income-generating handicrafts, at least as early as the 1850s. In both countries, the history of the blind and sighted pioneer teachers has been lost. The first 'official dates' of education for blind people in India are usually given as 1886 or 1887, and in China as 1870 or 1874, when the 'first school for the blind' is said to have been started in each country by foreign missionaries. This paper recovers the detailed and fascinating 'missing history', with extensive contemporary documentation, and suggests some reasons why these records and activities disappeared from view. Trends since the 1950s away from institutional education can be seen as a rediscovery of the attitudes, practices and debates of the pioneers a century earlier.

THE HERITAGE FROM ANTIQUITY

1.0 China

1.1 Blind people are recorded in Chinese antiquity as the beneficiaries of charitable institutions, [1] and as court musicians. Details exist of the various ranks and positions of the musicians: they and their sighted assistants had specific seats on either side of the ruler, and used various stringed and wind instruments, drums and other rhythm-makers. [2] Helpful and respectful behaviour is described in the *Analects* of Confucius, towards blind music-master Mien, when he makes a visit. Confucius tells Mien when he has reached the steps, and when he has reached the sitting mat. After Mien is seated, Confucius tells him who is present in the room. [3] These social arrangements are from a period several centuries before Christ. The Guilds of Blind Musicians and Fortune-Tellers which functioned in China at least until the middle of the 20th century, claim a continuous existence back to 200 BC. [4] Across this huge span of time, a few odd dates on blindness can be placed from western sources. Mary Darley, a missionary at Kien-Ning in Fukien Province, reported working with people in a Blind Village first established in the tenth century CE by a king whose mother became blind. [5] In the mid-fourteenth century, the traveller Ibn Batuta described a temple at Canton in which blind people received care, bed and board. [6] At Shanghai, William Milne visited a Foundling Hospital dating from 1710, in which there were some blind or otherwise disabled babies. [7] When Chinese historians take up the field of disabilities, they will probably find much more detailed material from state documentation accumulated over the past 2,500 years. The few spots mentioned here merely indicate that activities in the

19th century inherited one of the world's longest continuous cultural traditions of blind people's lives.

2.0 India

2.1 Blind people appear also in the literature of Indian antiquity. In *Rig Veda* a person is deliberately blinded, but is said to be healed by the divine Asvins. [8] The central plot of the greatest Indian epic, *Mahabharata*, turns on the prohibition against blind Dhritarashtra becoming king. [9] This epic contains many references to visual impairment, such as Princess Gandhari's decision to blindfold herself, so as not to be superior to her blind husband. [10] Dhritarashtra did become king; but he later complained that, on account of his blindness, his eldest son treated him like a fool and paid no heed to his words. [11] An early 'industrial disability' was mentioned in the epic, when some priests' eyes became weak and painful from the continual smoke of burnt sacrifices, until they went on strike. [12] There was also a connubial quarrel, during which Pradweshi complained that her learned but blind husband Dirghatamas was unable to support her financially, but she had been obliged to support him. [13] The ancient Laws of Manu describe various prohibitions on blind people, who are considered to be afflicted as a result of misdeeds in a previous life. [14] The Code of Kautilya aimed to protect blind people from insulting remarks. One could be fined for verbally scorning a man as 'blind'; but also for ironic use of a reverse term such as 'man of beautiful eyes'. [15] Modern terms like 'visually challenged' would not have pleased Kautilya. Chandra Roy, in a doctoral thesis on blindness in India, suggests that there was a civic and religious concern for the welfare of blind people in India as early as the 15th century BC; but this disappeared later during the Upanishadic period which emphasized the pursuit of transcendental values. [16] As in China, Indian history celebrates a small number of outstanding blind people. One of the best known is the 16th century poet Sur Das, possibly a court musician under the emperor Akbar. [17] However, Indian historical documentation is less adequate than that of China. Credible material is harder to distinguish from legend, and dating is often very difficult.

3.0 Languages, Access and Interpretation

3.1 Some 16th and 17th century sources with occasional notes on Asian disabilities, exist in European languages, for example in Dutch and Portuguese - the latter more particularly in records of the activities of Roman Catholic religious orders at Goa and Macao. [18] By the 19th century, English language sources are dominant, and some of them begin to reflect technical progress occurring in Europe, in education for blind people. The weakness of currently available historical sources in Chinese and South Asian languages, and the lack of European-language material in Asia, is suggested by unsatisfactory historical notes in recent publications, based on modern authorities. China's "first school for the blind" is said to have been founded in 1870, by "P.W. Moore"; or by "Pastor William Moore"; or in 1874 by "William Moon". [19] These dates and names are muddled or mistaken, or both. Possibly the bookseller, publisher, evangelist and teacher of blind people, 'Pastor' William Murray, became "P.W. Murray", then "P.W. Moore", and was confused with the blind publisher and evangelist

William Moon, of Brighton, England. Other sources err in suggesting more than was actually available, such as "schools for disabled people in China" in the 1840s. [20] The start of services for blind people in India is given by almost all textbooks, mistakenly, as being in 1886 or 1887, at Amritsar. The blind historian R.S. Chauhan, of India's National Institute for the Visually Handicapped, recently tried to probe a little deeper, but reports his frustration at the dearth of materials. [21]

3.2 European sources, on which the present paper depends, naturally had an agenda influenced by European concerns. Nevertheless, if one is not blinkered by stereotypes of 'missionaries' or 'colonialism', one may discern in the primary sources a range of thoughts and responses to blindness, not perhaps so different from those found in Europe in the 1990s. Within a few decades, however, the pioneers' thoughts and works were being tidied up by their successors, to give a polished picture of successful 'mission philanthropy'. Where the actual pioneers were not found apt for polishing, or where their historical records were not available, they tended to disappear from historical accounts, in favour of more acceptable, or better documented, 'pioneers'. The Europeans in China reported little of the thoughts and feelings of Chinese people, and when they did, it was of course at second hand. Nevertheless, it is possible to find in the 19th century material much that reappears with little change in the autobiography of a modern Chinese blind woman, Lucy Ching, from the 1930s to 1980. [22] Items such as the restriction of vocational training for blind people to courses in "massage and music" have continued into the 1980s. [23] The present paper, therefore, intends primarily to bring this 19th century material back into play, without trying to force it into any particular interpretative framework.

NINETEENTH CENTURY PIONEER TEACHERS: CHINA

4.0 Mary Gutzlaff at Macau

4.1 Carl Gutzlaff, the colourful Pomeranian pioneer missionary to China from c.1827 to his death in 1851, is credited with having "rescued six blind girls in Canton", [24] and with being the founder of 'mission' to blind Chinese people. [25] What the 'rescue' consisted of, and how many victims came from Canton, is less clear. The blind girls, accumulating one by one, were certainly welcomed within Gutzlaff's extended household; yet the first, who received the name 'Mary Gutzlaff', had actually been found in Macau, after being kidnapped, blinded and maimed to make her a more pitiful beggar. [26] She was brought to Mrs Mary Gutzlaff, the missionary's second wife. [27] Another girl, 'Laura', was apparently brought to the Gutzlaffs by her father, after she had been blinded by her step-mother while he was away from home, again with the idea that she should earn her bread by begging. [28]

4.2 Reports by westerners of 'native barbarity' may always be treated with some caution; yet in the case of Mary, contemporary detail is given of a surgeon, Mr. Hunter, who operated successfully on her limbs, but could not restore her sight. [29] The

missionary booklet giving this detail took pains to assure its youthful readers that "The Chinese are not savages... They are very polite people..."! [30] Macao had had an Ophthalmic Hospital for a few years, run by T.R. Colledge, [31] but it closed in 1832. [32] Nevertheless, the well-known surgeon Peter Parker of Canton also tried his skill on Mary's eyes, with some apparent success initially, [33] though the ultimate result was negative. J.R. Morrison, one of the most knowledgeable among the foreign community, was another contemporary witness of Mary's condition. He noted the painful frequency with which blind people were "condemned perhaps, irremediably, to a life of vice and ignominy: for the destitute blind of China are among the most depraved, and (lepers alone excepted) the most degraded class of outcasts." [34] In the case of Laura, she herself

> "was able to give an account ... of the last scene to which she was ever an eye-witness, her step-mother heating a knitting-needle, and with it and poisoned soap, robbing the helpless child she was bound to protect, of the inestimable blessing of sight. Laura could remember her father's return, the grief and indignation with which he beheld his mutilated child, the sudden and stern resolve rather to part with his little one, than to leave her in such cruel hands." [35]

4.3 Whatever melodrama may have accompanied the 'rescue' of these blind girls, the prosaic task of bringing them up fell first into the hands of Mrs Mary Gutzlaff, who as Miss Wanstall had gone to Malacca in 1832 as a teacher, and had married Gutzlaff in 1834, moving with him to Macau. She opened a small school there in September 1835, under the auspices of the Society for Promoting Female Education in China, India and the East (SPFE), with help also from the Morrison Education Society. [36] Recently, Susanna Hoe has suggested that the school at Macau "very soon concentrated its efforts on blind Chinese girls". [37] This seems a little overstated, as there were sixteen boys and five girls enrolled in 1838, all boarding in the Gutzlaff residence. [38] It is unclear whether all five of the girls were blind, whether all were old enough to be 'in school', and whether among them all there were the "four little blind girls" mentioned by Mrs Gutzlaff in a letter dated October 4, 1837, thanking a Philadelphia friend for sending embossed books. [38A] Certainly, the Gutzlaffs put two blind girls, Mary and Lucy, on a boat to London early in 1839, under the care of a nurse, [39] and soon after their arrival they were enrolled as boarders in a school run by the London Society for Teaching the Blind to Read. [40] Yet at the end of that year, William Milne mentioned "the 5 blind children under Mrs. Gutzlaff's care (now at Manilla)" [41] (They had decamped during the skirmishing between China and Britain over the opium imports.)

4.4 What seems to have happened is that Mary Gutzlaff, finding it hard to retain pupils at her school for more than a few months, [42] realised that there would be no such problem with blind girls. Morrison reported in July 1837, when there was only one blind pupil, that Mrs Gutzlaff was "anxious to increase the number of her blind pupils", but he did not favour the idea "until an adequate teacher can be procured". Clearly the number of blind girls did increase; and the remarkable picture appears of one of their fellow pupils, a 9-year-old sighted Chinese boy, teaching them to read their embossed books.

He was Yung Wing [Jung Hung] from a village on Pedro Island near Macau. More than seventy years later he recorded the curious chain of events by which he entered Mrs Gutzlaff's school at the age of seven; then casually he mentions that the three blind girls, Laura, Lucy and Jessie "were taught by me to read on raised letters till they could read from the Bible and Pilgrim's Progress." [42A] An adult (or nearly adult) assistant teacher had in fact been in the pipeline from the SPFE, namely Theodosia Barker, who had been studying Chinese in London and had "also studied the system of instruction pursued at the Blind Asylum, which it is thought may be introduced with advantage into China". [43] Whether this young woman's preparation would have proved "adequate" was never seriously tested, because soon after reaching Macau in February 1838, she married an American missionary and accompanied him to Bangkok. [44] This loss - of a sort that frequently happened to the SFPE's single female agents - may have added to the frosty reaction by the SPFE in June 1839, when they received a letter from Mary Gutzlaff, "stating that she had sent two blind children to the Society to be trained as teachers". The SPFE replied rather tartly that its funds were not available for children's education, "even those whose faculties being perfect would afford the hope of their being hereafter useful, certainly not those whose infirmities could only render them a permanent burden." [45]

4.5 Mary Gutzlaff, though lacking any specialist training, could certainly be regarded as the first pioneer teacher of blind girls in China. The added merit may be claimed, that the education was both 'inclusive' and 'multicultural' - there is a certain charm in the idea of little Yung Wing busily learning to read a translation of ancient Middle Eastern scriptures (allegorised by the English tinker Bunyan, printed in raised type in America), then passing on the skills and knowledge to three even smaller blind Chinese girls! Mary Gutzlaff could also be hailed as an early example of the adventurous young career woman, travelling east by herself, setting up schools, managing her home and profession independently while her husband distributed evangelical tracts along coastal China; and finally being deprived by later (male) historians of the credit for her good work, which was automatically credited to the husband. Alternatively, in the modern 'critical' fashion, Mary may come to be denounced by some as a cynical exploiter who found it easier to control blind girls than sighted children; who taught a colonial curriculum of English and Judaeo-Christian propaganda, tried to raise public support for her school by emphasizing the grisly fate from which she had rescued them; and who, when this failed, revenged herself by shipping these very young girls to institutions in far-off Europe and America.

4.6 Exactly what Mary herself thought she was doing, is now hardly to be known; but there was some public discussion of possible strategies for achieving the education of blind Chinese people, and thus rendering them potentially 'useful' - that key word of 19th century evangelicalism. Morrison in 1837 asked the London Missionary Society whether some missionary coming out to China might not "acquire in a few months a perfect knowledge of the system of teaching the blind?". More visionary, at that time, was his suggestion that "a blind scholar, himself well acquainted with the system - one imbued with true piety" might accompany such a missionary "as an assistant". [46]

Although formal education for blind people in Europe was still then very restricted, and most blind Europeans lived in poverty and with minimal social status, Morrison was clearly capable of imagining a blind person providing technical skills to the mission, as well as contributing "true piety". His idea was also perhaps more realistic than the earlier suggestion by the ophthalmologist Colledge, that little 'Mary Gutzlaff' be sent to London for training, so that she should return as an instructress. [47] The latter plan was criticised on the grounds of the child's age - not because of any possible ill effects of a long voyage, different climate, food etc, but "on the score that she will forget her own language". Instead, it was proposed that "some two or three children, and an adult, may be sent from England, from the Blind Asylum, competent Teachers of the blind in handicraft as well as mental pursuits." [48] It is not clear how this would have addressed the issue, i.e. the need to find people who were competent both in Chinese languages and in skills to teach blind people.

4.7 The outcome was that two pairs of blind girls were despatched by sea, 'Laura Gutzlaff' and 'Agnes Gutzlaff' following Mary and Lucy, and being admitted to the London Blind School on the 3rd January 1842, "aged 7 and 5 1/2 respectively". [49] For two months, the school had four blind Chinese girls; but Mary died in March 1842, and Lucy in July 1843. [50] The language problem with the remaining two young children still defeated the stratagem of 'pairing'. A teacher later noted that "At first Laura and Agnes spoke their own language together, but after a time it was gradually forgotten, and at last became to them as a foreign tongue." [51] Meanwhile, Mrs Mary Gutzlaff had sailed to America with a further three blind Chinese girls, Fanny, Eliza and Jessie, whom she hoped would be trained as teachers and would return to China,

> "...to convince the Chinese, that those who are deprived of sight, are not mere excrescences on the face of society, but that they can be taught, can in most cases support themselves, and can be useful and happy". [52]

None of these three 'American' Gutzlaff girls did return, though at least one of them, Jessie, became a skilled proofreader of Braille publications, and earned enough money to endow a scholarship for the education of Chinese students in Shanghai. [52A]

4.8 Of the London girls, Laura died at London in 1854, as a young woman of around nineteen years. She had spent many years as a learner; but also shared some of what she learnt. In 1857 a blind youth from Cornwall wrote, "There is an Institution forming here, and I am appointed one of the teachers. They wish me to teach Moon's system, which I have learnt, but I don't like it. *T.M. Lucas's* is the best system of all. I learnt it from Laura, the Chinese girl, when she visited Exeter nine years ago." [53] Laura would thus be counted among the 'useful' members of the human race. The continued history of Agnes, as a more remarkable pioneer teacher, will appear below in sections 7.0 and 8.0.

5.0 Edward Syle and Thomas McClatchie at Shanghai

5.1 If Mrs Mary Gutzlaff was the 'mother' of modern education for blind children in China, the 'father' of therapeutic industry for blind adults was the Rev. Dr. Edward W.

Syle (1817-1890). [54] Syle was an Englishman who had a long and varied career as a missionary, much of it with the American Episcopal Mission at Shanghai. There, his work with blind people was done in friendly collaboration with the Rev. Thomas McClatchie of the Church Missionary Society, and briefly with the help of the Episcopalian Rev. Phineas D. Spalding (1847-49). Syle was both a practical man and a scholar. The journal of his work, giving much thoughtful description of Chinese life and customs, was serialised in the Episcopalian periodical *The Spirit of Missions*, which unfortunately is barely accessible now outside the USA. Syle was also the father of a deaf son, which may have increased his concern for other people with disabilities. [55]

5.2 Looking back from twenty years later, Syle noted that the Shanghai Asylum for the Blind developed initially from the duty laid upon himself, McClatchie and Spalding, to act as almoners for the small Church attended by foreigners in the period 1845 to 1848. [56] Each Tuesday afternoon, some 60 needy people received a little money from the offerings made by the Church congregation, and listened to Christian teaching. Spalding recorded this duty on Tuesday, January 11th, 1848, saying "I have the halt, lame, blind, deaf, and afflicted in almost every way one can imagine". [57] On December 5th of that year the numbers were the same, and Spalding noted that eight or ten received the money at their homes, "as they are too old or infirm to come for it". [58] No doubt the majority of elderly disabled people were cared for and honoured by their own families at home, with the filial piety traditional in China. Nevertheless, in March 1849, one of the old men present at the weekly dole, after learning some Christian doctrine, demonstrated that judgements about personal 'usefulness' were not the exclusive preserve of Victorian evangelicals. He posed to Spalding a seemingly universal question of old age:

> "I am deaf of my ears, I am blind of one eye, and the other but slightly sees; I am lame of one leg, and I am seventy-four years old, and what use am I?" [59]

5.3 Edward Syle would soon concern himself with this question, especially when the almoners concentrated their charitable giving on blind people. Many tricks had been played on them to obtain money, and they were also worried about "the suspicion that we are ready to *buy* people to become believers...". [60] They felt there would be less grounds for suspicion, "when the object of our charities are such a poor, neglected set of people, that their adherence to our faith does not seem to be worth having, even if it could be purchased". [61] Syle perceived in the blind recipients of charity "a langour, an inertness, a stupor... which convinced me that all we wished for had not been accomplished. ... what they wanted was "something to do;" but what that something should be, did not so readily appear." [62] Enquiries were made into some common occupations of blind people at the time, at least in urban, coastal China. It was found that blind people were

> "largely employed as fortune-tellers; sometimes as guitar-players and ballad-singers; that some earned a few cash by grinding in the oil mill - going round and round in a circle of not more than ten feet diameter; and that others, more skilful, worked, during the cotton season, at cleaning the seeds from the raw material. Others again

went about the street gathering old paper with writing on it, which they sold to a certain temple for burning." [63]

Syle was perhaps too kind to record the organised bands of blind and lame beggars, "raising their importunate and ceaseless din... pressing their claims upon the attention and compassion of the shopkeepers, householders and gentry" as described by William Milne at Ningpo, [64] or begging outside the temples; [65] Nor did he mention the sexual exploitation of blind girls, hinted at by earlier writers. [66] Syle did jot down a story of the powerful influence, on the Church accounts clerk, of a blind "strolling fortune-teller, casually passing by his door" who had convinced this superstitious man that he should not attempt anything in his life until he was 36 years old. [67] Syle's main concern, obviously, was to find feasible, worthwhile occupations for his blind people; but some time passed before he achieved this, among his many other duties, and with time away in America from early 1853 until 1856.

5.4 In the meantime, Syle recorded other data on blind people and service options. One day, the topic of good works and charitable institutions came up in the course of lessons with the most respected of the missionaries' Chinese teachers. Since it was known on both sides that the missionaries engaged in their weekly dole, Syle enquired whether it would not be possible for the teacher himself "to undertake to collect subscriptions and set on foot an Institution for the Blind, such as they are said to have at Soochow". [68] The old man replied that this would be immensely difficult, because only a wealthy Chinese would have the entrée to collect money from other wealthy men; and that anyway, much of the money collected for such objects was eaten by the collectors. Syle was surprised that this "heathen taking off the actions and reasoning of other heathens" should do so in a way "so singularly like the reasoning of the reluctant in Christian lands"! Syle himself was not over-burdened with social work theory or with good reasons for doing nothing. After expelling two poor boys from the mission's High School on the grounds of "invincible dulness", he found that he could not bear "to cast off the poor children", so arranged with his Chinese assistant for the boys to have their daily rice and a place to sleep while they attended another school. "This", he told his journal hopefully, "seems like a very natural beginning of an orphan asylum." [69]

5.5 Another illuminating story was recorded, of an elderly blind Chinese man who after serving as a writer in the official Grain Department for 42 years, had lost his sight. Being now "a man half living and half dead", the old clerk complained that

"I have no way of getting my living. If I had been an old servant in a merchant's house he would have fed me in my blindness and old age; but the mandarins are always changing about, and know nothing more of the men that serve them than that they do their work and get their wages." [70]

Moved by the lengthy and harrowing account, Syle incautiously suggested to the blind man that he might see again - which then required the hasty but difficult explanation that spiritual, rather than bodily, eyesight was on offer. Eventually, Syle's own eyes were opened as it occurred to him that this matter might be communicated more effectively by one of the blind Chinese converts of the Church, a man named Yan-paon. He therefore

introduced the two blind men, and left them to get on with it.... [71] Further years elapsed before Syle perceived that all the poor, blind Chinese Christians might be 'useful' in distributing Christian literature. By 1856 he was noting that whenever they dispersed from the Church, they were given a handful of books for distribution and encouraged to bear witness to their new faith. Apparently, the novelty of the situation brought many opportunities:

> "'A blind man carrying books!' the people exclaim. 'What can you want with them?'" [72]

5.6 The condition of blind people in general, "who are frequently left to starve in the streets", caused Thomas McClatchie to think of building an asylum, but he lacked the funds. [73] His first nine years of missionary labour, 1844-53, brought "the apparent result of ... 8 blind converts and one schoolmaster", [74] baptized only after lengthy instruction and scrutiny. [75] However, the conditions in which some blind Chinese Christians lived may have served to rebut the charge, already hinted, of their being 'rice-Christians'. Dr Fish, a physician new to Shanghai, described thus his visit to the dwelling of two of them:

> "A man suffering from fever and rheumatism, and totally blind, lay on a little pallet almost incapable of motion; while his wife, also blind, and very much emaciated, seemed to be suffering from disease of the heart. The house was a mere hovel, of the smallest dimensions, and without a floor; and as I cast my eyes around the desolate-looking apartments, it seemed hardly possible that two human beings, both sick and blind, could inhabit such an abode; yet here they have lived for years, and here they most likely will die." [76]

Hearing these two pitiful specimens talk cheerfully about their faith was described by Fish as "worth all the sermons I had ever heard". Another newcomer, the Rev. C.M. Williams, was moved by the sight of blind people at the Holy Communion service, who "with their long staves would feel their way to the rail, where they would kneel and receive the emblems of the Saviour's love." [77] Less elegantly, another missionary noted that "We have a goodly number of them in our company today, and it is affecting to see them groping their way along". [78] Among them were some who managed to pull the wool over missionary eyes. The Episcopalian bishop at Shanghai, William Boone, had been very cautious in his baptism policy for professing believers, but was still forced within a year to denounce two blind 'Christians' as "arrant impostors". [79]

5.7 Less has been recorded of blind women at Shanghai, but one of the women missionaries managed to catch the authentic spirit of Nien-ka-boo-boo, a lively and intelligent old blind woman who belonged to the church and lived in a room at the Bishop's premises. One day, as this old woman was leaving her Christian instruction class, another woman in the class asked the Bishop for help with her rent. "Nien-ka-boo-boo, turning to the Bishop and laughing heartily, said 'Un sien-sang,' 'I dwell in my own house'." This was hardly a tactful remark in the situation, but the blind woman's "entire satisfaction in her independent circumstances" caught the witness's eye. [80] The missionaries often showed some ambivalence towards their elderly, blind, Chinese

sisters. Miss A M. Fielde, commenting on her work at Swatow in 1873, recalled how she had begun by teaching "five old, wrinkled, ignorant women"; then admonished her audience never to wait "until very suitable persons are found", since it might be God's choice to give them women who were "old, blind, bound-footed, degraded, stupid". This rather weak display of magnanimity was further diminished by Miss Fielde's hope that if you "make the best of them", God might kindly provide you with better material! [81]

5.8 Westerners usually took a poor view of Chinese methods of treating eye diseases. Mr Colledge, for example, writing of his ophthalmic service for the labouring classes at Macao, noted that "the utter incapacity of native practitioners denies to them all other hope of relief". [82] His view was endorsed by William Lockhart, another early western surgeon, who married one of Mary Gutzlaff's nieces and worked in China from 1838 to 1864. [83] On the other hand, it is interesting to read in a report on girls' and women's work at Shanghai, of a girl whose "eyes were in a very diseased state", for which "foreign medical aid was resorted to, but proved entirely ineffectual, and it was supposed that total blindness would be inevitable" - yet the girl's teacher noted that she was finally *placed under Chinese treatment*, after which her eyesight steadily improved. [84] The same teacher recorded an anecdote about one of her pupils, who had offended an old blind woman of the church, but then knitted some fine gloves as a peace offering for the old woman. [85] Such incidents make a welcome contrast with the tendency of later writers to present a bland picture of missionary 'good works' with compliant or even saintly blind people.

6.0 Introducing the Protestant Work Ethic

6.1 Employment, of a sort that missionaries could approve, finally began in 1856, when Syle noticed an old woman "twisting some long sedgy grass into strings, such as are used for holding together, by hundreds, the copper "cash" which are in such constant use." He promptly asked her to teach his blind pensioners this modest craft, and "thinking, perhaps, that I was slightly deranged", she agreed. [86] Conversion of the blind people to the Protestant Work Ethic took a little longer. Syle put to his future work force, especially the Christians among them, that they had kept part of the biblical Fourth Commandment - i.e. rest on the Sabbath; but had neglected the other part - to work six days. The point was conceded by the assembled blind people - yet with the proviso that they were "Poor, blind helpless creatures - how could *they* be expected to do anything!" Syle played his next card: making cash strings. The reaction was unanimous: "Such a thing has never been heard of." [87] The meeting adjourned, for a week of animated debate in tea shops and other meetings places. At the next confrontation, a blank refusal to work was given by the blind people. This, Syle rebuffed with the biblical edict, "A man that will not work, neither shall he eat". Those who wanted their dole to continue must learn to work; those who would not learn, would get no further dole.

6.2 Syle, who was hardly a capitalist grinder of the faces of the poor, seems to have won the day without ill-feeling. The pensioners "came to take a cheerful view of the

whole thing, and were highly amused at the idea of blind people presuming to be "operatives"." [88] Two rooms were loaned by the Methodist Episcopal Mission, and Syle recorded the opening of "this humble 'school for the blind'" on November 4th, 1856, with six apprentice string-twisters. [89] Within ten days, a dozen blind people were at work. The product range had doubled, as two of the workers knew, from their earlier sighted years, how to make the common rural straw-sandals. [90] The first batch of sandals was bought by Kiung Fong-Tsun, superintendent of a well-known Shanghai institution, the Hall of Universal Benevolence. Syle had invited this man, on the 11th December, "to visit my Blind School". A long and cordial collaboration ensued between the two men. [91] A week later, Syle received $100 from an American merchant, "towards carrying on my Blind School experiment". [92]

6.3 The industrial school soon required more space, and moved from the loaned rooms into "two apartments near our own (Episcopal) Church, also in the city". [93] Further crafts and customers soon followed. In November 1857, Syle found the blind people "picking oakum - an employment furnished them by one of the ship chandlers here, who is well disposed to assist in this matter." Another merchant quickly drummed up $500 dollars' worth of charitable subscriptions for the school. [94] By April 1858, the blind workforce was on to making door-mats from coconut fibre. [95] The missionaries were not content merely to keep idle hands busy. Bishop Boone, ordaining Deacon Tong-Chu-kiung on February 19th, 1857, advised that when he saw his brethren "sitting down in their industrial schools, and the blind industriously twisting their rope", he must read them some godly book, to "beguile their tedious hours, and enlighten their dark minds". [96] Syle's own voice and views dominate in the account of this day-centre - there is practically no other account. We do not know what the blind workers thought or felt. Syle tells us that, after a while, the workers had "brightened up wonderfully; and seem to look upon themselves as persons of no small consequence; members of a 'highly respectable community'." [97] The homes of many of them remained abysmal. Their working day may justly have been described as "tedious hours". Their pay was very small. Yet whatever it was, they were beginning to earn it by their own skill and labour, as their product range grew and found a market. Maybe they did indeed begin to value themselves as people who were worth something.

6.4 After a few years, the work program faltered for reasons not fully clear. Syle himself spent several years as a pastor in America, after his first wife died in 1859. [98] There were financial problems in running the workshop at Shanghai, and political troubles in the region. Syle mentions the devastation of premises "by the rebel occupation of the city". [99] Further, the blind workers had not discovered the capitalist principle of built-in obsolescence - their coir mats were strong enough to last ten years; they also lacked designer appeal. [100] Nevertheless, work was restarted in 1868 with 36 blind people producing mats sold for $215 during seven months. Three sighted workers were "engaged in purchasing coir, finishing the mats, selling them, and paying out the wages". [101] The 1868 annual report also mentioned receipt of reading material in Moon's script, "in the Vernacular of Shanghai reduced to alphabetic

writing", which would soon be put to good use. [102] Syle was keen that "some new branches of industry should be cultivated", and during 1869 there was knitting for some adults, and a start on reading for others, using the Moon books. [103] He was clearly gratified that a newly established Chinese philanthropic work in the south west of Shanghai "would appear to have taken a hint from our method of operation, and to have introduced the *working* and *teaching* elements into their Asylum". [104]

6.5 Syle's industrial school continued after he left Shanghai for Japan, around 1870, but the financing was sometimes precarious. The work was left in the hands of the American Episcopalian Rev. Elliot Thomson. His report in 1873 refers to "a small balance in hand" and compliments the Chinese manager, Ze-lan-fong "for his energy and zeal in conducting the establishment". [105] Far on in 1914, the workshop was still functioning as modestly as when it first began, with "eleven old men and two women who knit stockings and make straw rope". [106] It was working in 1928, when Hawks Pott noted that it had begun "in 1858" (*sic*), and was "more in the nature of a charitable than of an educational enterprise." [107] In fact, it had served its purpose as a bridgehead, opening up work possibilities and experimenting to see what blind people could learn and do, at a time when expectations were minimal among both blind and sighted people of Shanghai. By 1931, Syle's imaginative, pioneering work earned merely a dismissive half-sentence from a missionary chronicler of services for blind people, who thought it was "not until about 1875 that work of a tangible nature was started"! [108]

7.0 Agnes Gutzlaff and Miss Aldersey at Ningpo

7.1 Agnes Gutzlaff, sole survivor of the blind Chinese girls sent to London, completed 13 years of education at the school of the London Society for Teaching the Blind to Read. [109] At a missionary 'Farewell Meeting' in August 1855, she was commended to the port of Amoy, for the task of teaching "her countrywomen, similarly afflicted to herself, under the auspices of the Chinese Evangelization Society", the organisation founded by Carl Gutzlaff. [110] She was probably the first blind person of whatever nationality to be sent by a missionary society to another country; and almost certainly the most technically competent person to go abroad on a mission to blind people. Twenty years earlier, J.W. Morrison had envisaged a (male) missionary learning to teach blind people, with a blind (male) assistant. [111] He could hardly have imagined one blind, Chinese girl, aged about 19, undertaking both roles.

7.2 Agnes left England presumably with great curiosity and some trepidation, for the country she had known only as a small girl. Her arrival at Hong Kong with John and Mary Jones, two missionaries partially supported by the China Evangelization Society, was decidedly inauspicious. The newcomers were accommodated temporarily by some German missionaries, for Mary Jones was about to give birth, and then all the Jones family were ill; the eldest boy died there of dysentery. [112] The Joneses and Agnes had originally expected to go to Amoy (now Xiamen), but the destination changed to Ningpo (Ningbo), 500 miles further up the coast. [113] The Joneses had insufficent funds for the journey, and had to be helped out by various missionaries. Young Hudson

Taylor, who would later found the China Inland Mission, wrote home disapprovingly to his mother about the arrival of the impecunious Jones party, with Agnes lumped in as excess baggage:

> "By some means he, his wife & remaining three children (the last four very unwell) & a blind Chinese girl (!) arrived in Shanghai. They were kindly received by Mr. Wylie - had not money to go to Ningpo. ... As you may suppose this has caused no little sensation." [114]

7.3 Mr Taylor's own financial arrangement with the China Evangelization Society was shaky, [115] which may have made him the more irritable with other people's improvidence. The Joneses had no guarantee of support from the Society, merely a promise of help as funds permitted. Taylor thought this was bad enough, "without having taken additional charge" of Agnes, who had only £10 per year promised for her support. Rather snootily, Taylor remarked

> "how very wrong it is, to take a poor blind beggar girl, bring her up in the best style, & then leave her with a less sum than will [nearly? meanly?] pay for her food, for she cannot now live as a Chinese." [116]

However, Ningpo was reached at last. Agnes was welcomed by Burella and Maria Dyer, two young missionary teachers working with Mary Ann Aldersey. [117] In 1844, Miss Aldersey, a woman of independent means and "the most famous lady missionary of those early days", had opened at Ningpo China's first girls' school. [118] Her reception of Agnes in June 1856 was positive:

> "Last Saturday, we received an interesting addition to our teachers in the arrival of Agnes Gutzlaff, whom Mrs Gutzlaff, many years ago, rescued from heathen wretchedness..." [119]

The stock phrase recurred as Aldersey noted Agnes's education at the hands of her Christian teachers, "preparing this blind girl, through a course of years, for usefulness..." Agnes, weary no doubt of being part of the Joneses' baggage, showed herself "very desirous of commencing some work of usefulness immediately". She was introduced to a girl in Aldersey's school who had become blind after her enrolment. A similar girl from another school had been invited to attend, and Aldersey planned to "fill up a few vacancies" with further blind girls. There would be plenty of opportunity for 'usefulness'. [120]

7.4 Miss Aldersey, known as the "Witch of Ningpo" and credited with magical powers, often had trouble attracting and keeping pupils - why should this well-to-do lady leave her own country to teach other people's children, unless sinister motives lay behind it? [121] Some local suspicion undoubtedly transferred to Aldersey's new protegée. A class of blind adults could not quickly be found, even by a visit in April 1857 to a local asylum, "one of the few places supported or aided by Chinese charity". [122] The modest pace of development gave Agnes time to learn the Ningpo dialect. Aldersey also recorded in January 1858 that not all the younger pupils were ready learners. Ching Vang, a blind girl, "was very untoward for some time; so much so, that, to avoid unceasing annoyance to Agnes, I contemplated sending her back to her parents." Agnes

must have persevered, for Ching Vang later professed Christianity and her teachers continued "training her for future usefulness". [123] Agnes was teaching three blind girls at this time. [124]

7.5 The issue of Agnes's linguistic abilities is interesting, because some later mission chroniclers believed she was "unable to do much to help the blind owing to ignorance of the Chinese language and customs". [125] Even at the time, Hudson Taylor wrote dismissively that she "plays well on the piano-forte, has been brought up in the drawing-room, & knows nothing of Chinese". [126] The suggestion of language incompetence is directly rebutted by an independent witness, who reported in 1859 that "Agnes had little difficulty in acquiring the language, was able to speak with great facility at the time I was at Ningpo, and it pleased God to bless her labours". [127] This view was endorsed by Miss Aldersey who, fond as she was of Agnes, was a woman of keen discernment, unlikely to be misled over such a basic requirement for evangelistic usefulness:

> "You will be pleased to hear that Agnes (whom I love very much), being now able to speak the colloquial, is making herself very useful in a School of Industry for the Blind, which I have established in the midst of the city. She spends the whole of every morning there, teaching by word of mouth, and in some cases by the raised character, hoping that sooner or later, the seed sown may take root." [128]

The second industrial school for blind people is thus introduced, starting within two years of Syle's school at Shanghai. As in the latter, Aldersey's blind people made "string, straw shoes, and sandals. One or more can knit the coarse socks for the Chinese. The chief employment hitherto has been making mats...." [129]

7.6 From this period, an open letter from Agnes Gutzlaff survives, "written in English by Herself" to her friends in England. She began of course with 'usefulness':

> "I have been longing to write and let you know of the sphere of usefulness God has opened for me in mine own country. Miss Aldersey has a working institution in which she employs the blind at her own expense; they come every day from nine to five. They make mats, straw shoes, stockings, and a kind of string. We have at present eleven workers in the Institution. I go every morning at nine. I teach them reading, and speak of the only living and true God; also of Jesus, who is the only Saviour of the world. ... In the afternoon, I teach four girls in the house." [130]

This was by no means the whole of Agnes's work. Miss Aldersey had earlier mentioned a regular "two hours' trip on the canal from this city" to visit a blind woman whom Agnes was teaching to read. [131] There were other rural trips, in which Agnes was something of a spectacle - a blind woman, of Chinese appearance but dressed as a 'foreign devil', reputedly able to read books with her fingers, and accompanying a well-known witch...

> "A month ago I went with Miss Aldersey into the country, to a place called San Poh. We were there only a few days, and each day crowds came to see us. One day I went to call on a Christian woman who was ill; as soon as I got there, a large crowd gathered round the door, and almost would have done mischief to it, because they could not get in to see me: for the room was too small to do so. I left quickly, and

when they got a peep at me, they exclaimed, "Oh, she is really a human being!" [132]

7.7 Agnes probably traded on the public spectacle, in aid of 'usefulness'. William Moon had sent out copies of St. Luke's Gospel embossed in the Ningpo dialect, and "a young woman" at Ningpo "frequently sat in the Market-place and on the steps of the Idol Temples (where numbers of persons congregated), and there read the Gospel narrative to the assembled crowds of surprised and attentive listeners." [133] Behind this exhibition lay a 'battle of the types'. The London Society for Teaching the Blind to Read had earlier sent "part of the Gospel of St. John to Miss Aldersey" in Lucas's script, which Agnes had learnt and used at the Society's school in London; as well as sending "a ciphering board and type" at Miss Aldersey's request, for the use of their indefatigable former pupil. [134] Agnes, however, had by now taught herself to read Moon's embossed type. [135] She preferred this and must have advised Miss Aldersey of its superiority, because the latter also reported to the other Society, supplying Moon's books, that this was her own "decided preference". [136]

7.8 By the end of the 1850s, Miss Aldersey was ageing and weary. With Agnes and a few others, she had been living with the Rev. and Mrs. Russell of the Church Missionary Society, [137] and planning her retirement. After 23 years' work in China, she went in 1860 to Australia, leaving her schools to be run by the American Presbyterians; but "the school for the blind, under the charge of Agnes Gutzlaff, the blind native teacher ... still depend upon her for support." [138] From Adelaide, Miss Aldersey wrote to thank the Russells for their kindness to Agnes, and to ask for continuing "protection and guidance" from C.M.S. missionaries towards her. Miss Aldersey guaranteed that Agnes would "at no time be an occasion of expense to them", undertaking that she and her heirs "shall be responsible for necessary expenses which the Christian public may sometimes fail to provide for". [139] A special note was enclosed about the association of Agnes with the German missionaries of Hong Kong. Aldersey was anxious that Agnes should not be handed over to them, "or to other parties, who might perhaps fail to appreciate her and her services as we do." [140]

8.0 Agnes Gutzlaff, Useful at Shanghai

8.1 After Miss Aldersey's departure, Agnes must have stood rather more on her own feet; and news of her activities becomes scarcer. She was still teaching at Ningpo in 1861, [141] and the Rev. William Russell appreciated her musical talents. As well as supervising her blind industrial school, Agnes led a singing class

> "for those members of our Church who have an ear and taste for it, with a few of our schoolboys; so that by this means we have been enabled, during the latter part of the year, to have the praises of God sung as well as spoken in the native church". [142]

Agnes moved to Shanghai probably at the end of 1861, when Ningpo was briefly taken by the T'ai P'ing rebels. The next few years at Shanghai, perhaps the most interesting of her life, appear only in brief summaries, unless new material becomes available perhaps from Chinese sources. Miss Lydia Fay, the American missionary and scholar of Chinese

literature, noted in 1866 that "I see Agnes Gutzlaff occasionally" at the Chinese church in the city, but that she had been ill. The possibility of Agnes playing a harmonium at the church was mentioned. [143] An article in 1867 about "The Blind Chinese Teacher", with an engraving from a photograph of Agnes taken in 1855, unfortunately adds no new information except that she was "still usefully employed in imparting to others the instruction which she has found so valuable to herself". [144]

8.2 Finally, a resume appeared in London in 1878, describing Agnes's life at Shanghai, though it does not give the date of her death:

> She resided at Shanghai, in a native house, retaining the European dress; and in order to enable her to converse with the inhabitants of that district had to learn the Ningpo and the Shanghai dialects. Her employment was that of a teacher of English to the educated Chinese. She was much respected by all classes, and had the entire confidence of her countrymen." [145]

Perhaps some of these points influenced later writers to think that Agnes had been of more use to English culture and the upper classes than to her fellow blind people; but it would be unreasonable to dismiss her work for blind people. She was not only the first well-trained teacher of reading for blind people in China's long history, [146] but as a role model was unique - a blind young woman living independently and paying her way by using the skills her education had provided. Apart from the well-to-do who could pay for English lessons, the whole pattern of Agnes's life would have led her to continue serving the poor and needy, whether blind or sighted. The resume concluded that

> "She worked hard, lived sparingly, and saved money, and at her death her property was left to found a hospital called by her name." [147]

8.3 In the absence of more precise information, the Gutzlaff Hospital gives the best clue to the end of Agnes's life, and merits investigation by itself. From blind beggar girl, to teacher with £10 per year, to founder of a hospital, seems a singular rags-to-riches outline, without disclosing where the riches came from, or their size. Agnes's savings from several years of teaching were probably augmented by gifts or a legacy from Miss Aldersey, and perhaps from sources in England. Like its founder, the Gutzlaff Hospital was a place of modest pretensions but undoubted usefulness. During a discussion in 1874 of the future of another hospital, the "Gutzlaff Eye Hospital" was said by Mr E. Iveson to be "located in the property in Ningpo Road which formed Miss Gutzlaff's bequest for the purpose, but had to depend on external sources of income". [148] It was certainly running by the end of 1871, for in September 1872, Dr Alexander Jamieson reported on his "nine month's daily attendance upon a large number of outdoor patients at the Gutzlaff Hospital". [149] At least a year may well have elapsed between Agnes's death and her trustees being able to collect other funds and arrange the opening of a small hospital. Probably she died between early 1867 and late 1870. [150]

8.4 How the Gutzlaff bequest came to be called an Eye Hospital is unclear. [151] Agnes may have wanted ophthalmic work to predominate; but there is little evidence that it did. Jamieson's half-yearly Reports on the Health of Shanghai regularly gave details

of cases he treated at the Gutzlaff Hospital from 1872 to 1883, but none involved eyes. [152] Surgeon Henderson, Jamieson's contemporary, noted that eye diseases were "the commonest and most largely represented in the Shanghai Native Hospitals", and discussed these problems at length; yet the sole case he mentions at the "Gutzlaff Native Hospital" was one of a facial tumour. [153] From c.1871 to 1876, a room at the Gutzlaff Hospital was "hired by the Municipal Council as their vaccinating station at a rent of $150 per year", which must have been contibuted very usefully to running costs. [154] This reinforces the picture of the Gutzlaff Hospital as a small, low-budget, general-purpose institution, "in one of the back streets of the English Settlement", [155] where Chinese people came with the usual range of outpatient diseases and various orthopaedic and obstetric problems on which Jamieson operated. Eye work probably took place, but of so routine a nature that Jamieson found nothing worthy of publication.

8.5 By 1883, the trustees had implemented an idea that had been considered for several years, to amalgamate the Gutzlaff Hospital with the new St. Luke's Hospital (formerly the Hongkew or Hongque Hospital), and thus "to lessen the number of Hospitals - there were then some that were small and struggling", among which was clearly their own. [156] Proceeds from the sale of the Gutzlaff Hospital's effects gave St. Luke's "a piece of land on which the present out-patients department stands", and with which the Gutzlaff name should continue to be associated. [157] The name was indeed orally transmitted as far as the 1930s, where it appears in Wong & Lien-Teh's monumental *History of Chinese Medicine*; but the role played by Agnes had disappeared. [158]

8.6 By 1879, William Hill Murray had already begun his work with a handful of blind men and boys - though he himself learnt Braille in Pekin from the blind daughter of a medical missionary, little Miss Dudgeon, and her teacher, Miss Chouler. [159] Murray's small beginning was followed in 1883 by the Hankow Blind School, 'founded' by David Hill - though it was the eccentric zealot Pastor Crossette who collected the first blind boys, [160] and who revised Murray's system of Braille for the Hankow dialect. [161] Work was begun in 1889 leading up to the foundation of a school for blind girls at Canton, from which Dr Mary Niles was later credited with opening "the first institution for these unfortunates in China", [162] - though, once again, it was a blind Chinese woman who actually did the teaching, [163] and any earlier work with blind girls was ignored. Murray, Hill and Niles have been honoured by history. The earlier pioneers, Mary Gutzlaff, Edward Syle and 'Agnes Gutzlaff', still await recognition.

NINETEENTH CENTURY PIONEER TEACHERS INDIA

9.0 Beginning with Charity in India

9.1 Western charitable work in India began in the 16th century with some Portuguese hospitals, [164] and continued with a modest poor fund at Madras, first for European distress, then for the native poor. [165] Compared with China, the long years of slowly growing British influence in India gave a different background to work with blind

people. Some formal contact was developed a few decades sooner; yet it followed a similar pattern of early charitable donations and ophthalmic surgery, [166] then the education of some blind children in ordinary schools, facilitated by the advent of reading materials using the embossed scripts of Lucas and Moon; with later on some residential schools and finally the use of Braille.

9.2 In 1800, when outdoor relief in England was still poorly organised, the Indian Presidency Governments hardly expected to solve "the problem created by the vast number of beggars in India... for many of whom poverty was the result of some physical disability". [167] However, missionaries personally exposed to disabled beggars were not always willing to let Government off the hook of responsibility. Of some, it could be said that "close acquaintance with Indian conditions turned missionaries from pious evangelists to fearless 'radicals' and people-protectors." [168] By 1802, William Carey, Joshua Marshman, William Ward and others at Serampore were giving weekly alms to blind people and lepers; but were also beginning to campaign for more formal service provision. Carey was involved with others in starting a leprosy hospital. For this, land and a substantial donation were received in 1818 from Raja Kali Sunkar Ghosal, one of a family that long collaborated with British charitable efforts. [169] The Raja also opened a blind asylum at Benares in 1826, after arranging "with considerable difficulty and expense" for a survey to be made of blind beggars and their needs. [170] This survey found 225 blind men, of whom 100 had been born blind. It was also discovered that the majority of blind beggars had close domestic ties and would not wish to reside in an asylum, where they would not be allowed to go out begging. [171]

9.3 As these early essays in institutional care began, the practice of a weekly dole for blind and other disabled people continued in many towns. At Cawnpore in 1809, Henry Martyn preached and gave money each Sunday to a crowd of "the blind and the deaf, the maimed and the halt, the diseased and the dying". [172] At Allahabad, in 1826, Mr. Mackintosh read the Bible each week to some 250 lame, blind and indigent persons, and distributed alms to them from a regular collection among the local Europeans. [173] In 1839, at Benares, William Smith preached weekly in a chapel crowded with poor people, "of whom a number were blind and lame", before giving out alms or food. [174] Around 1857 at Rutnagherry, 160 miles south of Bombay, de Crespigny noted that "The lame, the blind, and the deformed receive allowances from a charitable fund supported by the European community". [175] In fact, dole and preaching lasted to the end of the century. At Agra in the 1890s, a religious service with alms distribution organised by Dr. Colin Valentine for the poorest people, grew into a church with several hundred attenders, "of whom nearly three hundred are blind". [176]

9.4 The great majority of blind people undoubtedly lived at home, sharing in whatever living resources were available to their family - which, in times of scarcity, might be hardly enough for survival. [177] Of the rural majority, very little is known, as such comments as were recorded about blind Indians were mainly about the 'visible problem' of blind beggars in urban areas. District Officers occasionally noted traditional rural

measures. Among the Garrows in north-eastern India, most villages were said to have had "a lame or blind person, incapacitated from other work, who invokes the deities, and offers sacrifices for the recovery of sick persons." [178] Among the Yusufzais along the north-western frontier, Bellew noted that the distribution of alms was "very generally observed by all classes according to their means. The priesthood, widows, orphans, maimed, blind, aged, &c., are the recipients." [179] Wealthy Indians continued throughout this time to make charitable donations and provide food for poor, blind or otherwise disabled people. The occasional massive display of bounty occurred, tending to reinforce European doubts about the whole process.

> "Dwarakanath Tagore made a startling announcement of a big donation of Rs.100,000 to the [District Charitable] Society in 1838. ... The Europeans were naturally stunned, and so were the Indians. ... the amount was utilized by the Society, according to the wish of the donor, in establishing the 'Dwarakanath Fund for Poor Blind'."

In 1840, 214 blind people benefitted from the Dwarakanath Fund. [180] Whether the soul of Dwarakanath Tagore benefitted in his next incarnation, is a matter for speculation - but this was the motive often attributed to charitable donations in India, together with the name and fame of being a philanthropist. [181]

9.5 Conscious of the limitations and dangers of doling out money, some missionaries made efforts to rouse public awareness and tackle some of the roots of poverty and distress; with very slow results. Meanwhile, the next phase of campaigning by practical example involved opening educational institutions; in which there were undoubtedly some Indian children with mild to moderate disabilities casually integrated with their classmates. In the earlier part of the century, such children tended to appear merely in parenthesis. Thus the Rev. Charles Leupolt, to whom the famine of 1837 delivered hundreds of orphans, reported that "We have at present 121 boys, divided ito several classes. They all, with the exception of a few blind, dumb, idiot and sickly boys, read the gospel." [182] The lowly status of work with blind people continued. In 1881, for example, a visitor to India noted that his host, the Rev. Francis Heyl, was running "an important educational establishment with an average attendance of 116 scholars"; adding as an afterthought that Heyl had "also the care of the Blind Asylum in Allahabad." [183]

9.6 Hundreds of thousands of people died in the 1837 famine, and the missionaries could not easily forget the state in which orphans arrived. Chambers described a scene at Agra, echoed or amplified in all the subsequent famine reports:

> "The children, when first thrown on us, were a most harrowing spectacle - emaciated skeletons, the skin shrivelled on their cheek bones, so that they looked like very aged men and women: half clad, as most poor children are, their ribs stood out prominently, like the bars of a grate. In such a state of inanition were they, that it was necessary to feed them at first by a spoonful at a time." [184]

Many of these children soon died; some continued for a few months; some survived, but with lasting damage. The Rev. Erhardt recalled that among the first 330 famine orphans at Agra, many became blind through disease allied to overcrowding and low resistance,

until eventually better premises were found at nearby Secundra. [185] The actual daily care of these children fell, of course, into the hands of missionary wives and their Indian assistants, which further contributed to its modest or absent status in historical accounts.

9.7 Of the blind orphans themselves, very few details are available, in the first half of the century. At Secundra, the Rev. C.T. Hoernle reported on one, who

> "made himself very useful in the baking room, preparing all the chapatees for the oven... Before he commenced his work in the above capacity, he used to attend at School with an Urdu class of his age, and tho' he could but sit there; yet, by hearing the other boys read and repeat their lessons in the New Testament, he learnt, aided by an extraordinary memory, the whole gospel of Matthew and parts of the other gospels, and was able to recite any chapter which he was asked." [186]

This capable boy died; and thus he figured in Hoernle's report. There is no way of knowing how many other blind children gained skills and survived to independent adulthood. Equally little is known about the vastly greater numbers of blind children and adults who lived quietly in their families, in villages far removed from the urban centres of British rule.

10.0 Blind Students at Madras and Calcutta

10.1 Occasionally, a blind person emerged into the limelight. One of the more remarkable, in 19th century India, was William Cruickshanks, who was born at Vellore in the Madras Presidency around 1800. Apparently his Irish father abandoned William, still very young, at the Madras Military Orphan Asylum. There, his eyesight weakened and he became blind at the age of twelve or thirteen - yet he later became headmaster of that Asylum, and of several other schools. [187] His education must have been very largely oral, and quite haphazard, yet he persevered with memorising whatever came his way, and gathered sufficient learning to be able to obtain work as a tutor in private families. [188] He was married twice, and had several children. By 1838 he had made sufficient impression in educational circles in Madras, that he was appointed headmaster of the Native Education Society's School, with 100 pupils; and in 1841 he was headmaster of the Orphan Asylum where he had spent his boyhood. However, it was as head of the Anglican missionaries' Anglo-Vernacular School in Palamcotta (Palankottai) that Cruickshanks gained fame, working there for 26 years, until the late 1860s. [189]

10.2 Cruickshanks was a keen Christian evangelist and brooked no objection from his Hindu pupils to this aspect of the curriculum. He even traded on his blindness, by ignoring boys' efforts to take their leave when he was preaching at them individually - the hapless lads could not rely on visual signals of their wish to depart, and were too polite simply to walk away. [190] Less partisan was his enthusiasm for music, as a performer on flute and violin, and conductor of choral singing. [191] He retired from the post at about the age of seventy and took up tutoring of University candidates at Madras; but "once more, in 1875, the aged schoolmaster found a new sphere of usefulness" when asked to oversee the opening of a new school. This was his final work, and he died in 1876. [192] Cruickshanks had some advantages, in his first twelve years

of eyesight; and in being European or Eurasian, which probably made easier his advancement as a teacher. Yet his initial status as a friendless orphan could hardly have been lower; and he could have had no formal help as a blind person, by way of learning to read Lucas or Moon scripts, until he was in his forties.

10.3 Throughout the 19th century, an unknown number of blind children, like young William Cruickshanks and the lad noted above by Erhardt, were casually integrated with sighted children, picking up whatever they could from oral repetition which was the major tool of pedagogy. Priscilla Chapman remarked on a blind girl at Calcutta in 1826, who "from listening to the other children, got by heart many passages from the Gospels". [193] The presence of such children, and the lack of any special means to assist their education, evidently concerned some teachers at the Bengal Military Orphan Institution, Calcutta, who in 1838 or 1839 requested help from the London Society for Teaching the Blind to Read. [194] Materials printed with the Lucas system were provided, and in 1841 the London Society reported

> "...a pleasing document which has lately been received from the Managers of the Bengal Military Orphan Asylum, in which it is stated that the Blind Orphans in that Institution were learning to read upon Lucas's system, and their joy and satisfaction were great at acquiring such an important source of instruction." [195]

The year 1844 saw despatch from London of "a further supply of embossed books, for the Blind Children of that Institution." [196] These blind orphans at Calcutta seem to have been the first in South Asian history to be educated with a formal system designed for their needs. Their identities, and those of their teachers, remain unknown; though it may yet be possible to discover some of them in local archives.

11.0 Jane Leupolt of Benares

11.1 One of the forgotten pioneers of education for blind people was Mrs Jane Leupolt, formerly Miss Jane Jones. She had been among the first people sent to India by the Society for the Promotion of Female Education in the East, in 1835, as a trained infants teacher. [197] For many years, amidst multiple duties, she concerned herself with blind children in the Orphan Institution at Sigra, Benares (Varanasi), for which she was largely responsible, as well as with some local blind adults. [198] Mrs Leupolt went on leave to England in April 1857, just before the Sepoy Rising and subsequent traumas. [199] She and her husband returned in December 1860, having collected ideas and inspiration for the future of their work. [200] They had visited William Moon at Brighton, who subsequently reported that

> "The wife of a Missionary lately returned to Benares, tells us of a Blind native Christian woman who is already useful in teaching. A chapter embossed in her own tongue is gone out, and she will probably soon learn to read it herself and become a Teacher of her blind countrywomen. She has a half-blind husband who will perhaps be employed in the same way, and we have promised to pay them, and any others who may become Teachers". [201]

Some formal teaching of blind children was organised by Mrs Leupolt in the early 1860s, and supported by another missionary, Mrs Fuchs. As a result, funding for the

teaching of twenty blind boys and girls was eventually supplied by the government, at least by 1864. [202]

11.2 After several attempts, Mrs. Leupolt devised a system to print Hindi using Moon characters, winning a special prize at the Agra Exhibition in 1867 and having readers printed in it. [203] Vocational or industrial activities were also begun at Benares with the blind youths at Raja Kali Shankar Ghosal's Asylum in the late 1860s, a decade after Edward Syle and Miss Aldersey were engaged in such activities in China. The Asylum Committee reported in 1870 that "Out of an average of 131 inmates during the year, 40 have been industrially employed, the remainder being physically unfit for any work on account of infirmity from old age, chronic disease, &c." [204] Mrs Leupolt's embossed books, and an Indian teacher, were introduced into the Blind Asylum, in 1868. [205] The first teacher died, so Mrs Leupolt brought another, a young man named Titus whom she had trained in reading and writing the raised characters. Not only did Mr Titus have the honour of being the first specially trained Indian teacher of the blind whose name is known, but there is a brief description of his activities:

> "In the morning he taught the blind, and in the afternoon he taught the lame and decrepit who were not blind. He was directed not only to teach the blind to read, but to tell them tales and anecdotes, and to instruct them well in mental arithmetic. Some of the lads took considerable interest in the latter, and entered heartily into it; it also gave them something to think about." [206]

11.3 Education of visually impaired orphans was also in full swing at Secundra, near Agra, by the mid-1860s. Mrs Daüble listed sixty-nine Indian orphan girls, (having Christian names bestowed on them by missionaries). There are comments on each, from which it appears that four were blind, four had only one eye, and four had some other visual impairment. Grace, one of the sighted girls aged ten and a half, was specially noted as "helping Miss Ellwanger in the teaching of the blind girls"; while Adelaide, during her play hours, was "anxious to help the blind girls with their reading". [207] Of Gertrude, a blind girl, it was noted that she "has begun to learn to read and to knit; although quite blind she is able to help in the kitchen in preparing and baking the *chuppaties* (native bread)". [208] Another blind girl, Sarah, regularly taught the youngest children. [209]

11.4 Before the Leupolts retired from India in 1872, the books and printing materials were passed to the Rev. J. Erhardt at Secundra Orphanage, to add to the facilities of its famous printing house. Mrs. Erhardt reported in 1871 that

> "We are going to open a new branch in our industrial department; we shall print the Bible in raised characters for the blind. We have now a class of blind girls who read very nicely the books that have been prepared. In time we shall train some teachers only for the blind; there are so many of these poor people in this country, and for whom so little has been done." [210]

One of this class of blind girls must have been Julia, whom Mrs Erhardt mentions nine years later as "a faithful teacher ... She loses one friend after another, all departing to

their own homes, but she being blind can never have any other home than *Secundra*, where she is happy, and beloved by all." [211] In nearby Agra, Jane Leupolt's materials were also in use by Miss Elizabeth Alexander, an independent missionary lady, who ran a school on the roof of her large bungalow, for "about forty boys and girls, varying in age from five to fifteen, and nearly all of the poorest class. A few are quite blind, and these she teaches from Moon's raised types". [212]

11.4 Very little of Jane Leupolt's work with blind people appears in the Benares C.M.S. mission reports or periodicals during more than thirty years of her labours. It finally received a brief chapter in Charles Leupolt's second set of memoirs, [213] where the elderly, retired missionary seems to have been discharging an accumulated debt. In the 1830s when his wife began her work, very few women were 'missionaries' in their own right. The daily work with orphans also had a secondary status - mission boards accepted that it was a right and worthy response to need, but they also saw that it could occupy an ever-growing amount of time, taking away from that verbal proclamation of the gospel for which they had sent men out. The orphanages with which the Leupolts were long associated were not funded by their Mission, but were "run on a faith basis, like George Muller's Orphan Homes near Bristol". [214] Work with disabled children was also secondary - though considered worthy, it was not seen as being of strategic importance. Mrs Leupolt, a pioneer educator, worked in triple obscurity, reinforced no doubt by a modesty about her own work, which was deemed appropriate to the Christian woman. Not surprisingly, the historian of Mission in India, Julius Richter, remarked that the work of missionaries wives and daughters was "for the most part carried on in secret, and little of it has found its way into missionary reports." [215]

11.5 Nor were signs recorded, from this mid-century period of work, of any dissenting voices among blind Indians, of the sort raised in Britain by the blind Hyppolite van Landeghem in her ferocious denunciation of "exile institutions" where blind or deaf people were immured to their lasting disadvantage. [216] Even much more muted criticism from blind people is absent from English-language records - though it seems unlikely that all were meekly content to be the objects of charity, whether foreign or indigenous. Van Landeghem's fury was further stimulated by the very fact of missionary work overseas. She protested against money being allocated for China and the East by the Society for Teaching the Blind at their own Homes, "whilst around you are at least 27,000 blind "unable to read," and the greater part of whom are suffering all the sorrows attendant on poverty". [217] Few people in Britain had such a keen missionary vision as the blind William Moon; few perhaps were so irritated by missionary work with blind people, as Hyppolite van Landeghem.

12.0 Miss Asho & Other Pioneers in North Western India

12.1 Other missionary wives were active in North Western India and the Punjab from the 1850s, doing whatever they could to teach blind children who came their way, with whatever materials came to hand. For example, a young woman called "Blind Sarah" was one of several orphans cared for by Mrs. Fitzpatrick at Amritsar c.1851-56; and

then by Mrs. Strawbridge; who, "in addition to careful Christian training, taught her to read the only embossed English book then within their reach". [218] Later, when the Rev. John Matlock Brown began missionary service at Amritsar, "he took out with him from us [i.e. Moon's Society] a chapter in Urdu, which was hailed with great delight by Blind Sarah". [219] These missionary wives, in their often obscure work in isolated mission stations, were undoubtedly influenced or comforted by the theme recurring in their religion, of God using poor, weak and despised persons to 'confound the mighty' and other unexpected results. While some of their husbands were calculating the 'strategic' effects of educating high-caste Hindu boys, the wives were able to perceive the 'usefulness' of devoting time and energy to teaching individual blind orphans, or the sort of 'old, ignorant, blind women' referred to (above) by Miss Fielde in China. Few people in India had less 'value' than such girls or women; [220] so the more perceptive of the missionary wives busied themselves, and waited for the unexpected. The response of their pupils, by way of embracing Christianity, was often greater than that of able-bodied people, which naturally reinforced the missionary wives in their anti-conventional value system.

12.2 Of the many casual encounters of this sort, between missionary teachers and blind children, one resulted in the first blind Indian teacher upon whose skills a school for the blind was founded. Asho was born c.1861 at Lahore, in a Muslim family, and lost her sight through smallpox, when three years old. [221] At the age of ten, she was admitted to school at Lahore by Miss Emma Fuller, a formidable teacher with the Indian Female Normal School and Instruction Society, who had joined her sister Mary Fuller in 1868 and who reportedly opened seventeen schools in the area. [222]

> "Although Miss Fuller had no technical knowledge of work among the blind, it is certain that she made no difficulty of this, but readily and even eagerly received the little Asho into her school, and with loving ingenuity found methods of imparting to her general knowledge, as for instance facts in geography, etc., and very patiently she caused her to commit to memory many Bible stories and hymns." [223]

Asho was orphaned c.1875, and her brother tried to arranged her marriage with a blind Moulvi (Muslim religious teacher and leader). Asho thereupon took refuge with Miss Fuller, and ultimately she was baptised and sent to Mission boarding school at Ludhiana, under the care of Miss West, where she remained for four years. [224] The description by Miss Tucker, in 1880, of a blind young woman at the recently opened Converts Industrial Home, Amritsar, very probably refers to Asho, who stayed there for three months and learnt to read Moon script:

> "One blind convert was knitting, and knitting remarkably well. At Miss M. Smith's desire she brought her Gospel in embossed letters, and her progress in reading does great credit both to her own intelligence and perseverance, and those of her instructress, a blind native Christian". [225]

For several years, Asho was to work with Miss Fuller and other missionary ladies, visiting Zenanas (women's quarters in private houses) and presenting the Christian faith to Muslim and Hindu women. [226] These experiences led on to her main career as a

teacher of other blind women and a hospital Bible-woman at Amritsar, which she began in 1886, and continued for over forty years. [227]

12.3 In the early 1880s, Miss Sarah Hewlett, who was in charge of St. Catherine's Hospital, Amritsar, and her colleague Miss Frances Sharp, had been prompted to consider opening a school for the blind, by the large number of such women for whom the hospital could provide no relief. [228] "At last, in 1886, a small knitting class was established, and two or three blind women of low caste were persuaded to join it, and they received a few *pice* a week as payment. ... Knitting did not commend itself to the minds of the pupils, who had proved begging to be a far more lucrative occupation.." [229] Frances Sharp had already communicated with her sister, Annie Sharp, who duly travelled from England, under the Church of England Zenana Mission Society, and reached Amritsar in the Autumn, 1886, with the idea of working with blind women. By this time, however, the knitting class had been disbanded, and "it was decided to try again; and as Miss Sharp had brought with her a knowledge of basket-making, there was every encouragement to believe that some industrial work might now be successfully attempted." [230]

12.4 The first step to achieving this goal, as Annie Sharp later noted, was that "we got a Christian blind teacher", who was of course Miss Asho. [231] Sharp continued, however, by disclosing that progress was not entirely harmonious: she thought that Asho "was sent to us chiefly because other missionaries found her so difficult to manage". [232] From Miss Asho's point of view, it is hard to know whether she had more trouble managing her missionary supervisors, or managing the other blind women whom she was to instruct. Hewlett, having the earlier experience of the knitting class failure, and having managed a hospital for several years, was perhaps more objective in her judgement than Annie Sharp. She noted that Asho first "began to try again on the poor hopeless blindies whose class had not been kept up; and she soon begged us to set aside stocking-knitting for such, and to introduce the coarse mat-making with its much larger possibilities of usefulness and sale". [233] The introduction of this handicraft, (some 30 years after the blind work-force at Shanghai had undertaken it), was attributed by Hewlett to the early foresight of Miss Fuller, who

> "did not fall into the mistake of acting as if knitted stockings were the only commodity which could be produced by blind people; she taught [Asho] to make from a kind of string manufactured in India from an indigenous rush, a stout useful door-mat, which has been, from the time of Asho's coming to us, a growingly important article of manufacture and sale in our school". [234]

On the question of personal relations, Hewlett also realised that Asho was used to being the only blind person around, first of all at her school in Lahore, then later in the company of missionary women; so it took her some time to adjust to the presence of other blind women, competing for the attention of the missionaries. Nevertheless, Hewlett clearly believed and stated that "Asho's coming really marks the date of the beginning of this school." [235]

13.0 Miss Annie Sharp and Miss Askwith

13.1 In view of the multiplicity of well-documented educational work with blind children and adults across India from the 1820s onwards, and the clear evidence that the blind workshop at Amritsar was initiated under Sarah Hewlett and was centred on Miss Asho as the professional instructress, it is curious that almost all modern texts award the palm to Annie Sharp for starting the 'first blind school in India'. Sharp herself was rather more modest about her own efforts. In 1889 she wrote to G. Martin Tait in London, a member of the Committee for Home Teaching of the Blind, who had enabled Annie to gain a little experience by accompanying one of his home-visiting teachers a few times. Annie was conscious that "...you thought me a little foolish to propose teaching the blind, when I had scarcely any experience of what they might be made to do." [236] Up to October 1889, the hospital's little blind class had been "managed in a large verandah"; but was then on the point of moving "into another portion of the premises". [237] Craft skills were always emphasized, along with Christian teaching, and the work was named the 'North India Industrial Home for the Blind'. Nevertheless, students learned to read either Moon and Braille, "according to their capacity. The former is the easier, but the latter can also be written". [238]

13.2 In its earlier days, the institution catered mainly for adults - but later, around 1904, there were "23 women, 21 girls, and 26 boys. [239] By then, it had moved to Rajpur. Annie Sharp died a fortnight after the move, on 25 April 1903, of cholera. [240] She had undoubtedly given herself energetically to working as the institution's manager; but this untimely death may also have contributed to Annie's quite unjustified elevation to being the "Mother of the Education for the Blind in India". [241] By contrast, Miss Asho's role at Amritsar was cut down, by one later chronicler, to that of "the very first blind convert woman to enter the Home for training". [242] This contrasts rather sharply with the view of her senior contemporaries, that she joined as a competent teacher whose skills were essential to the success of the enterprise! Another chronicler, while appreciating Asho's performance in public reading of the Bible in Moon script, suggested that she had become a Christian "in the Blind School", rather than having taken this step earlier. [243] These errors of fact, though presumably unintentional, underlined the subordinate position assigned to Asho by later writers. That this blind, orphan, young Indian Christian was actually the key professional resource around whom the blind school was built, may have been an unexpected fact of history; but it was clearly attested by the missionary women who were her contemporaries and to whom she was responsible.

13.3 In South India, despite William Cruickshank's example, formal education for blind children seems to have been slower to develop than in the north. The southern pioneer, so far as English records are available, was Miss Anne Jane Askwith at Palamcotta, who noted in 1890 that "We now have a class for little blind girls". [244] Part of the inspiration for this class seems to have been a blind Indian woman, Miss Marial, who had been taught by a Bible-woman, and became a Christian, to the anger of her relatives. She took refuge in the Bible-woman's house, where, as Askwith recorded,

"She did what she could to help by fetching water, cleaning the house, and beating rice, but still she felt she was a burden. ... I found out that besides household duties she had gone out with the Bible-woman teaching and singing to the people, and that they listened most attentively to her, and *especially the little ones liked her to teach them*; ... She is an active, intelligent, and independent woman, a happy exception to the generally helpless, ignorant and incapable blind people of this country." [245] [Emphasis added]

As Askwith's classes developed, various academic subjects were taught, and in due course the blind girls were "examined by the Government Inspector and Inspectress just like our other schools." [246] It appears that many pupils went on to become teachers in ordinary schools. Miss Askwith noted that "When they leave school we give them a copy of every book we have in the raised type, an arithmetic frame, a few clothes, and a certificate of conduct, and thus equipped they go forth to earn their own living. .. We ourselves employ twelve or more young men as teachers and monitors in some of the Mission schools for boys, and we receive very good reports of their work." The books thus given out were in Moon's type; whereas the arithmetic frame was used with Braille. [247] The blind girls lived in the Sarah Tucker Institution with the sighted pupils, though they studied separately. [248]

14.0 Conclusions

14.1 Brief glimpses have been given of some educational activities with and by blind children and adults, mostly between 1830 and 1880, across the vast expanse of the world's two largest nations. Most of this work took place before the dates conventionally assigned for the start of blind education in China and India. It was pioneered by people other than the 'recognised' founders. Some of these newly-revealed pioneers were blind people, who were thus, in a sense, doubly pioneers. Many of the pioneers, both blind and sighted, were women, labouring under a double social disadvantage. [249] They were using the successful new reading materials of their times, first the Lucas system and then Moon's script, while Braille's dots were slowly gaining ground elsewhere. The efforts of some active blind people to learn whatever they could, and then to teach others, were appreciated by their sighted mentors, at the time; but in several cases these efforts disappeared from the account given by later chroniclers, who apportioned the credit to the sighted, at the expense of the blind. This may have been partly due to the conventional assumption, by later sighted people, that good works 'must have been' done by sighted philanthropists to helpless blind people. Yet this is not the whole explanation, since several of the earlier sighted pioneers similarly suffered the fate of being wiped out of history.

14.2 Most of the 19th century integration of blind learners in ordinary schools, and the willingness of teachers to accommodate them and to find special methods for them, has disappeared from the record; or it has been dismissed with the suggestion that the first 'real work' began with those who managed to construct 'institutions to care for the blind'. In a thesis written in the 1930s, Dev Raj Seth believed that before 1886, "There were no homes for the blind, the deaf and the mute, and what the early and primitive

institutions did was simply to teach the poor, luckless creatures a few handicrafts, such as basket-making, carpet-weaving etc, to earn their living". [250] Taylor & Taylor, in their compendium on Indian disability services, knew of nothing for blind people before 1886, and wrote of the "first integration of blind children in regular schools, in Maharashtra State, and perhaps in the whole of India" as beginning in 1958. [251] As the wheel of history turns, and the institutional approach has given ground, over several decades, to ideas of integration, inclusion, and home- or community- based approaches, the time is clearly ripe for a re-evaluation of work in the mid-19th century.

14.3 'Of the weaving of baskets there is no end'; yet the modern distaste for forcing blind people into these few, deeply worn, occupational grooves must not detract from the achievement of pioneers who thought that blind people would have better lives if they were constructively occupied and gained a sense of themselves as people making a useful contribution. Whether oakum-picking and mat-making are considered worthier occupations than fortune-telling and singing for one's supper, is partly a cultural decision. When the latter were the only occupations traditionally available, and both were tainted with negative associations, the offer of basket-weaving, mat-making and similar crafts must surely have been a genuine advance.

14.4 The newly-revealed pioneers certainly had their limitations, which should be judged against the background of their own and earlier times. Most of this *evaluation* remains to be done, using more indigenous sources in various languages, and sketching in the background of social developments for other disadvantaged or disabled members of communities. The present paper has aimed to present mostly the bare bones of historical data, with a few glimpses of blind individuals, and to provide some bibliographical clues to facilitate further work.

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CGMR	:	Customs Gazette. Medical Reports, Shanghai, Inspector General, Customs.
CMG	:	The Church Missionary Gleaner
CRep	:	The Chinese Repository
CRec	:	The Chinese Recorder
FMI	:	The Female Missionary Intelligencer
IFE	:	The Indian Female Evangelist
IW	:	India's Women. The Magazine of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society. (Later: India's Women & China's Daughters)
Jl	:	Journal (used only for personal journals, e.g. of Syle, Spalding)
LonBl	:	Annual Reports of the London Society for Teaching the Blind to Read
MR	:	The Missionary Register
SpM	:	The Spirit of Missions
SOAS	:	School of Oriental & African Studies
UP	:	University Press

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17 Fritz Lehmann (1982) Akbar and Sur Das, Indica 19 (1, No.36) pp. 23-34.

18 See e.g. A. Damas Mora & J.C. Soares (1936) Leprosy in Macao, Chinese Med. J. 50: 721-5; Fatima da Silva Gracias (1994) Health and Hygiene in Colonial Goa (1510-1961), New Delhi, Concept, pp. 136-7.

19 Irving Epstein (1988) Special educational provision in the People's Republic of China, Comparative Education 24: 365-75, p. 365. L.-Y. Wu (1993) Suggestions for refining the Chinese Braille system, J. Visual Impairment and Blindness 87: 289-94. Hanlin Yang & HongBo Wang (1994) Special education in China, J. Special Education 28: 93-105, p. 95. See also Yongxin Piao, Richard M. Gargiulo & Xu Yun (1995) Special education in the People's Republic of China: characteristics and practices, International J. Special Education 10: 52-65.

20 E. Vaughn (1992) Educational achievement of disabled individuals in the People's Republic of China, J. Visual Impairment and Blindness 86: 189-90, p. 189.

21 R.S. Chauhan (1994) The Triumph of the Spirit. The pioneers of education and rehabilitation services for the visually handicapped in India, Delhi, Konark, pp. 11-12, 19.

22 Lucy Ching (1980) One of the Lucky Ones. Hong Kong, Gulliver. Reprint 1982, London, Souvenir. Even if more 19th century Chinese sources become available, the female world may be under-represented: see Pui-lan Kwok (1992) Chinese Women and Christianity, 1860-1927, Atlanta, Ga., Scholars Press, p. 3.

23 Zhang Ning-Sheng, Zhouy Ren Lai and Xu Bai Lun (1995) The implementation of mainstreaming education for blind children in China: achievements, problems and counter measures, International J. Special Education 10: 12-20, p. 14.

24 Samuel Couling (1917) Blind in China, The, Encyclopedia Sinica, London, Oxford UP, pp. 51-2.

25 Herman Schlyter (1946) Karl Gützlaff. Als missionar in China, Lund, Gleerup, and Copenhagen, Munksgaard, p. 112. Gutzlaff's anglophilia extended to marrying three Englishwomen in succession and anglicising his name, Carl Gutzlaff. He also used the Chinese name 'Kwo' of his fictive 'adopted' Chinese father: The Gleaner in the Missionary Field, No. 5, July 1850, p. 39.

26 Archives of London Missionary Soc., Library of SOAS, Univ. London. CWM South China incoming letters, Box 3, 1830-1839, Folder 3. J. R. Morrison, manuscript letter dated 24 July 1837.

27 E.M.I. (1842) The History of Mary Gutzlaff, London, John Snow, p. 8. This children's booklet is about the blind girl, not about Mrs Mary Gutzlaff.

28 The Blind and their Books: with some account of Laura Gutzlaff, a native of China, [1859], London, Wertheim, Macintosh & Hunt, pp. 20-21.

29 E.M.I., op. cit. (note 27), p. 8.

30 Ibid., p. 3.

31 Ophthalmic hospital at Macao, CRep, 1833, II: 270-3.

32 Wong & Lien-teh, op. cit. (note 1), p. 310.

33 Eastern-Female-Education Soc., State of Mrs. Gutzlaff's School at Macao, Report dated Oct 14, 1836, MR, 1838, pp. 277-8, p. 278.

34 Morrison, op. cit. (note 26).

35 The Blind and their Books, op.cit (note 28), pp. 20-21. A blind commentator later noted that "similar practices are not altogether unknown" in Europe, even in Gutzlaff's own country. L.W. Hanks (1872) Blindness and the Blind. A treatise on the science of typhlology, London, Chapman & Hall, p. 13.

36 Eastern-Female-Education Soc., op. cit. (note 33), p. 277. First annual report of the Morrison Education Society... Canton, September 27th, 1837, CRep, 1838, VI: 229-44, pp. 231-2. Another teacher with support from the Morrison Soc. around this time was S.R. Brown, who had written a dissertation on sign language, and spent three years teaching deaf pupils in New York: William E. Griffis (1902) A Maker of the New Orient. Samuel Robbins Brown, New York, Revell, pp. 49-52, 61. Had Brown used this experience in China, deaf education could have begun 50 years sooner than it actually did (see note 55 below).

37 Susanna Hoe (1991) The Private Life of Old Hong Kong, Hong Kong, Oxford UP, pp. 28, 108, 172.

38 Second Annual Report of the Morrison Education Society: read 3rd October, 1838, CRep, 1839, VII: 301-10, pp. 306-7. The building was described as "a large Portuguese house..., 110 x 60 feet in area": Griffis op. cit. (note 36), p. 71. It had "a delightful gallery round the upper part of the house", where the children sometimes played: Eastern-Female-Education, op. cit. (note 33), p. 278.

38A According to Alice M. Carpenter (1937) Light through work, Outlook for the Blind XXXI (3) 77-90, on p. 80, the letter from Mrs. Gutslaff [sic], appeared in the New York Christian Advocate and Journal, June, 1838, appreciating the "two invaluable books for my four little blind girls", in embossed type. (There seems to have been a transcription error where the Journal quotes the letter saying: "Many can read two passages beginning from the alphabet; another little girl can read the alphabet and figures;..." This was probably "*Mary* can read..." in the original handwriting.)

39 History of Mary Gutzlaff, op. cit. (note 27), p. 9. Eastern-Female Education Soc., Summary of the Fifth year, MR, 1840, pp. 46-7.

40 Archives of the Royal London Soc. for the Blind, Female Register, Entries 19 & 20, Mary and Lucy Gutzlaff, admitted on 29 July 1839.

41 William Milne, manuscript report dated 1 Jan. 1840, "The State of the Protestant Mission to China Proper, in the beginning of the year 1840", pp. 3-5. CWN South China Correspondence, Incoming letters, Box 4, 1840-1847, Folder 1. Various sources give details of seven blind Gutzlaff girls named Mary, Lucy, Laura, Agnes (the four who went to London), Jessie, Fanny and Eliza (the three who went to the USA). Little, see Note 52A below, pp.9-10, seems sometimes to confuse Eliza with Elsie, a sighted Chinese girl who also went to the USA with Mrs Gutzlaff. The total of seven is confirmed in the 10th ARMPI (1843) p. 9.

42 Second Annual Report, op. cit. (note 38), p. 307.

42A Yung Wing (1909) My Life in China and America, New York, Henry Holt, pp. 1-3, 7-8. (Rather confusingly this is listed in the British Library Catalogue under the name Jung Hung, perhaps as an attempted 'correction' of the publisher's transliteration). Presumably these parts of the Bible and Pilgrim's Progress were the 'two embossed books' sent from Philadelphia in 1837. The Pennsylvania Institution for the Instruction of the Blind, Philadelphia, had been open since 1833.

Gall and Frere were producing books with raised type by 1837, and some other systems were in competition.

43 Chinese-and-Indian-Female-Education Soc., Summary of the Third Year's Proceedings, MR, 1838, pp. 109-10, p. 110.

44 Eastern-Female-Education Soc., MR, 1839, p. 122. See also S. Hoe, op. cit. (note 37), pp. 108-9.

45 Archives of the Soc. for Promoting Female Education in the East. Univ. Birmingham. Ref. FES AM1. Minute 727, 14 June 1839. Susanna Hoe, op. cit. (note 37), p. 109, dramatises this refusal; yet for the SPFE to have done otherwise would clearly have been a misuse of its funds. The SPFE annual report noted that "Several friends have united to take charge of [the blind girls]". Eastern-Female Education Soc., op. cit. (note 39), p. 47.

46 Morrison, op. cit. (note 26).

47 Eastern-Female-Education, op. cit. (note 33), p. 278. This aim, unchanged, was quoted from Mrs Gutzlaff in the Seventh Annual Report of the Ohio Institution for the Blind (1843) after Laura, Jessie and Eliza reached the USA: "our object in the education of each of the blind children is to have them, if we may, prepared as future teachers in China" (p. 12).

48 Eastern-Female-Education, op. cit. (note 33), p. 278.

49 Archives of the Royal London Soc. for the Blind, Female Register, Entries 48 and 49.

50 History of Mary Gutzlaff, op. cit. (note 27), p. 14. [Mrs Chester Luke, 1844] The History of Lucy Gutzlaff, London, John Snow, p. 15. There would be yet another little 'Mary Gutzlaff', a Chinese baby adopted and so named by Mrs W. Young at Amoy, c. 1852: Eastern-Female Education Soc., MR, 1853, pp. 86-7.

51 The Blind and their Books, op. cit (note 28), pp. 26-7.

52 10th ARMPI (1848) p. 9. See also 88th Annual Report..., pp. 12-13, quoting William Chapin's diaries for 1842-843. Fanny was in the Pennsylvania Institution for almost 77 years, being transferred in December 1919 to a hospice (ibid., p. 12). Jessie died in October 1920.

52A Alfred F. Little (1939) From Serfdom to Culture. The remarkable story of a blind Chinese girl who rose from a waif in Canton to the position of a proof reader in a large American institution, (No named publisher), p. 15.

53 Nineteenth Report, LonBl, 27 April 1857, pp. 8-9.

54 J. R. (1890) In Memoriam, Rev. Dr. E. W. Syle, CRec XXII: 23-25. Syle's 'paternity claim' might be disputed on behalf of Carl Gutzlaff. Apart from his wife's efforts to teach blind children or to have them trained abroad, Gutzlaff in 1844 wrote to the Pennsylvania Institution on the subject of blind people in China, stating that "I myself have a house full of them, and set them to work to plait straw shoes, which they do with great dexterity." 11th ARMPI (1844) p. 21. This is quite credible, given Gutzlaff's hyperactivism; but no evidence appears of a planned and organised development of occupational therapy or income-generating handicrafts.

55 Ibid., p. 25. See also: Letter from the son of a missionary, SpM, 1859, XXIV: 331-2. This is presumably from Syle's son (and Bishop Boone's godson). Apart from working with blind people, Syle jotted down much more about disabilities than did most missionaries, e.g. his note of a fight involving a deaf boy: Jl, 11 Mar 1847, SpM, 1848, XIII: 185-8, p. 186; his enquiry about a Chinese Albino, whom his servants said must have been a sheep in a previous existence: Jl, 21 Sept 1852, SpM, 1853, XVIII: 54-7, p. 56. Formal education for deaf children in China was begun in 1888 through the interest of another missionary with a deaf son, the Rev. Dr. Charles Mills, who married a teacher of the deaf: Our missionary corner, The Silent Messenger, July 1896, No. 9, II: 46-7. See also Deaf-Mutism

in China, American Annals of the Deaf and Dumb, Oct 1876, XXI (No.4) 256-7. Education of a deaf and blind girl is mentioned by George Fryer (1914) Work among the blind in China, in: D. MacGillivray (ed) The China Mission Year Book, 1914, Shanghai, Christian Literature Soc. for China, p. 325, quoting Miss J. Reincke of the "Blindheim" School for Blind Girls, Kowloon.

56 E.W. Syle (1868) Shanghai Asylum for the Blind, CRec I: 138-40, p. 139.

57 P.D. Spalding, Jl, 11 Jan 1848, SpM, 1848, XIII: 317-21, pp. 318-19.

58 Idem, 5 Dec 1848, SpM, 1849, XIV: 177-85, p. 182.

59 Idem, 13 Mar 1849, SpM, 1849, XIV: 433-8, p. 437.

60 Syle, Jl, 26 Jun 1849, SpM, 1850, XV: 185-87. Idem, 29 Apr 1850, SpM, 1851, XVI: 73-82, p. 75. Idem, 26 Jul 1852, SpM, 1852, XVII: 445-51, p. 451.

61 Syle, op. cit. (note 60), 26 June 1849. Elsewhere, McClatchie noted some peculiar methods by which Roman Catholic missionaries baptised Chinese infants, then claimed them among their 'converts'. He preferred that Protestant missionaries should have no converts, than convert all China by such methods: T. McClatchie, excerpt from letter dated 25 Jun 1846, SpM, 1848, XIII: 91.

62 Syle, op. cit. (note 56), p. 139.

63 Ibid.

64 William C. Milne (1847) Notice of seven month's residence in the city of Ningpo, Article III, CR XVI: 14-30, p. 25.

65 P.D. Spalding (1848) Report, SpM XIII: 413-18, p. 415. Carl Gutzlaff expressed the "general poor law everywhere acknowledged" in China, as being "if you cannot live, die, and we will bury your body". Oddly, in view of his 'rescue' of blind girls, he suggested that "The provisions for the blind are made with great care, and a due consideration of their wants, evincing much national interest in these unfortunate beings". This is hard to reconcile with other reports. C. Gutzlaff (1850) Replies to queries in relation to China, proposed by Sir G. T. Staunton, Bart., M.P., in the year 1846, J. Royal Asiatic Soc. XII: 386-400, p. 395.

66 Later writers, such as Hoe, op. cit. (note 37), pp. 173-6, MacGillivray, op. cit. (note 55), p. 589, and Ching, op. cit. (note 22), pp. 19-21, 47, 50, 274-5, note this form of abuse more frankly, the latter because it was still commonly assumed to be her own fate in the 1940s.

67 Syle, Jl, 23 Dec 1849, SpM, 1850, XV: 357-60, p. 357. Blind fortune-tellers are also described by Justus Doolittle (1868) Social Life of the Chinese, edited by P. Hood, London, Sampson Low, Son & Marston, pp. 574-5; and by F. Boden (1893) Work for the blind in China, Work & Workers in the Mission Field II: 471-5. More recent details are given by Mackenzie & Flowers, op. cit. (note 4), pp. 21, 28, 32.

68 Syle, Jl, 4 Mar 1848, SpM, 1849, XIV: 343-6, p. 344. Charitable institutions at Soochow, especially for elderly or disabled widows and for foundlings, were later described in: Mrs Parker (1882) Chinese charities, Women's Work in China V: 119-22.

69 Idem, 24 Dec 1851, SpM, 1852, XVII: 201-5, p. 204.

70 Idem, 24 Mar 1852, SpM, 1852, XVII: 304-7, p. 305.

71 Ibid., p. 306.

72 Syle, Jl, 1 Aug 1856, SpM, 1857, XXII: 26-37, p. 35.

73 T. McClatchie, [Excerpts under Church Missionary Soc., China], MR, Mar 1852, p. 120. McClatchie's interest in work with blind people may have been stimulated by his wife, one of the two Misses Parkes, nieces of Mrs Gutzlaff who helped her run the school with blind girls. Yung Wing, op. cit. (note 42A), p. 8.

74 Church Missionary Soc. Archives, Univ. Birmingham, ref. C CH/O 27/19. Letter from William H. Collins, 8 Apr 1863. In fact, there had been as many as 16 blind people under instruction: T. McClatchie (1877) Brief sketch of the history of the

Shanghae station of the Church Missionary Society, London, CRec VIII: 308-10, on p. 309.

75 F. F. Gough, [Excerpts under Church Missionary Soc., China], MR, Mar 1852, p. 119. Extracts from McClatchie's Jl, MR, Jan 1851, p. 48. T. McClatchie (1852) Instruction of the blind, MR, Mar 1852, p. 155. Idem (1853) [Jl extract], MR, Mar 1853, p. 118. When McClatchie returned to China, he took with him some of William Moon's publications, which were available in a few Chinese languages: Eighth Report of the Society for Supplying Home Teachers and Books in Moon's Type to Enable the Blind to Read the Scriptures, 1864, p. 9.

76 M.W. Fish, Letter dated 5 Nov 1855, SpM, 1856, XXI: 156-8, pp. 157-8. Dr Fish left the mission in 1858, and became U.S. Vice Consul: Statistics of the American Protestant Episcopal Mission, CRec, 1877, VIII: pp. 310-12, on p. 311.

77 C.M. Williams, Jl, 6 Jul 1856, SpM, 1857, XXII: 43-6, p. 45. Rev. Williams arrived in 1856, but left for Japan in 1859: Statistics, op. cit. (note 76), p. 311.

78 Journal of C. [Miss J.R. Conover or Miss Catherine E. Jones?], 6 Jul 1856, SpM, 1857, XXII: 198-205, p. 201. An archetypal image of dispensary clients, from the 1830s, was of "old, blind, decrepit men, 'with staff in hand,' led thither by their little grand-children": Canton Dispensary, CRep II: 276-7.

79 W.J. Boone (1856) Report to the Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, SpM XXI: 653-8, p. 655.

80 Jl of C., SpM, 1856, XXI: 379-82, p. 382. See also: Idem, 14 Aug 1856, SpM, 1857, XXII: 148-51, p. 150.

81 Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China, held at Shanghai, May 10-24, 1877, Shanghai, Presbyterian Mission Press, 1878, p. 156.

82 Ophthalmic hospital, op. cit. (note 31), p. 272.

83 William Lockhart (1861) The Medical Missionary in China: a narrative of twenty years' experience, London, Hurst & Blackett, p. 250. Lockhart also described cases of self-mutilation by beggars, and noted that children were sometimes blinded "by means of lime, and by puncturing their eyes with a coarse needle", pp. 251-3. Much later, specific studies were made of injuries to the eyes by quacks: Arnold Pillat (1929) Injuries of the eye caused by the operative treatment of Chinese quacks, National Med. J. China XV: 525-35. Ibid. (1929) Some injuries of the eye caused by non-operative and operative treatment of Chinese quacks, Idem, XV: 536-54. See the equivalent for India: H.E. Drake-Brockman (1910) The Indian oculist, his equipment and methods, Indian Med. Gazette 45: 207-10.

84 C.J. [Catherine Jones] (1856) The Girls' school at Shanghai, SpM XXI: 85-9, on p. 86.

85 Ibid., pp. 87-8.

86 Syle, op. cit. (note 56), p. 139.

87 Ibid.

88 Ibid., p. 140.

89 Syle, Jl, 4 Nov 1856, SpM, 1857, XXII: 275-9, on p. 278.

90 Ibid.

91 Syle, Jl, 11 Dec 1856, SpM, 1857, pp. 385-90, on p. 386. Idem, op. cit. (note 56), p. 140.

92 Syle, Jl, 18 Dec 1856, SpM, 1857, p. 387.

93 Syle, op. cit. (note 56), p. 140.

94 Syle, Jl, 19 Nov 1857, SpM, 1858, XXIII: pp. 194-7, on p. 196. This may have been the merchant mentioned by Syle, op. cit. (note 56), p. 140, Post Script. He refused point-blank an invitation to join the Literary and Scientific Soc., which Syle and others had started and which later became the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Soc.; but instead volunteered to do something for the blind.

95 Syle, Jl, 7 Apr 1858, SpM, 1858, XXIII: 483-5, on p. 484.

96 Letter from Rev. E.W. Syle, Shanghai, 6 Mar 1857, SpM, 1857, XXII: 439-43, on pp. 440-1. Syle in fact arranged for a schoolboy to go to the workshop every afternoon and read to the workers from the Bible. Syle, JI, 2 Feb 1858, SpM, 1858, XXIII: 335-9, on p. 338.

97 Syle, op. cit. (note 56), p. 140.

98 A. Wylie (1867) Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese, Shanghai, American Presbyterian Mission Press, p. 154.

99 Syle, op. cit. (note 56), p. 140.

100 Ibid.

101 Minutes of a Meeting of the Committee of the Blind Asylum, - held at Chaou-fong Hong, January 20, 1869, North China Herald, 6 Feb 1869, p. 72.

102 Ibid. Some materials in Moon's script had been available as early as 1852 in the Pekin dialect, and 1853 in Ningpo: Forty-Ninth Annual Report of Moon's Society, 1897, Brighton, p. 13. Miss Lydia Fay, a notable missionary teacher, wrote of a blind girl, A. Ne, who she at first thought was "merely a little idiot" but who flourished after Syle had received her "into his boarding school for Chinese girls, where she is learning to read books with raised letters made for the blind": Letter from Miss Fay, 18 Jul 1869, SpM, 1869, XXXIV: 604-8, on pp. 606-7.

103 E.W. Syle (1870, 9 Jun). Report of the Trustees of the Institution for the Blind, for the year 1869, North China Herald, pp. 428-9, on p. 428.

104 Ibid., p. 428.

105 E.H. Thomson (1873, 6 Feb) Report of Institution for Blind Poor, North China Herald, p. 118.

106 Fryer, 1914, op. cit. (note 55), p. 318.

107 F.L. Hawks Pott (1928) A Short History of Shanghai, Shanghai, Kelly & Walsh, p. 194.

108 George Fryer (1931) The blind in Asiatic countries, in: H. Lende, E.C. McKay & S.C. Swift (eds) Proceedings of the World Conference on Work for the Blind, New York, p. 266. The school had, however, been accorded recognition by H.O. Dwight, H.A. Tupper & E. Munsell (1904) The Encyclopedia of Missions, New York, Funk & Wagnalls, p. 93.

109 "Eleven years instruction" is mentioned in the Eighteenth Report, LonBl, 18 Apr 1856, p. 7; while "fourteen years...education" appears in: Farewell Meeting, 2 Aug 1855, London, FMI, 1855, II: 110-19, on p. 111.

110 Ibid, p. 111.

111 Morrison, op. cit. (note 26). Decades later, around 1900, there was a blind missionary named Cook, at Amoy: Mrs G. Wilkinson (1914) School for blind boys, Foochow, China, Report of the International Conference of the Blind... Church House, Westminster... 1914, Bradbury, Agnew, 445-9, on p. 445.

112 A.J. Broomhall (1982) Hudson Taylor & China's Open Century, Book Two, Over the Treaty Wall, London, Hodder & Stoughton, p. 347.

113 Ibid., pp. 346-7.

114 CIM/OMF Archives, SOAS, Univ. London, Ref. CIM/JHT 35-44, Bundle 2314, letter Q. From J.H. Taylor to his mother, 28 Jul 1856.

115 Ibid.

116 Ibid.

117 A.J. Broomhall (1982) Hudson Taylor & China's Open Century, Book Three, If I Had a Thousand Lives, London, Hodder & Stoughton, pp. 38-40. Mary Dyer would later marry Hudson Taylor; but it is unclear whether he ever revised his views on Agnes. Miss Aldersey vigorously opposed the marriage, and denounced the young man to all and sundry, so Agnes quite possibly took a dim view of Taylor.

118 D. MacGillivray (1907) A Century of Protestant Missions in China (1807-1907), Shanghai, American Presbyterian Mission Press, pp. 457-8.
119 Miss Aldersey's Jl, 6 Jun 1856, FMI, 1857, (No. XLIV), IV: 41.
120 Ibid., p. 42.
121 See anecdotes in the popular account by J. Reason (1940) The Witch of Ningpo, London, Edinburgh House. For comparison, half a century had passed since Hannah More met similar opposition and wild rumours, when opening schools in rural England: Mary G. Jones (1952) Hannah More, Cambridge, Cambridge UP, pp. 151-83.
122 M.A. Aldersey (1857) A Chinese asylum, Ningpo, 15 Apr 1857, FMI (No. XLIX), IV: 102-3.
123 Miss Aldersey's Jl, 16 Jan 1858, FMI, 1858, new series, I: 110-11.
124 Idem, 18 Jan 1858, FMI, 1858, n.s., I: 125.
125 Couling, op. cit. (note 24), p. 51; Fryer, 1931, op. cit. (note 108), p. 266.
126 Taylor, op. cit. (note 114).
127 Twenty Fourth Report, LonBl, 11 Apr 1862, pp. 14-15.
128 Recent Intelligence, Ningpo, From Miss Aldersey, FMI, 1859, n.s., II: 64.
129 Ibid.
130 Letter from Agnes Gutzlaff, Dec 1858, FMI, 1859, n.s., II: 96.
131 Miss Aldersey's Jl, 20 May 1858, FMI, 1859, n.s., II: 40.
132 Letter, op. cit., (note 130).
133 William Moon (1877) Light for the Blind, 3rd edn, London, Longmans, pp. 55-6.
134 Twentieth Report, LonBl, 13 Apr 1858, p. 8. Twenty-first Report, LonBl, 25 May 1859, p. 7.
135 CIM/OMF Archives (see note 114), Ref. CIM/JHT 74-81, Bundle 3214, letter from Dr William Moon to Mrs Sewell [? Jewell, Suvell, Servell ?] dated 19 Dec 1861. See also Bundle 3219b, typescript, 19 Jul 1863.
136 Third Report of the Society for Supplying Home Teachers and Books in Moon's Type, 1859, London, p. 20. Fifth Report, Home Teaching for the Blind, 1861, London, pp. 13-14.
137 Mrs Russell had been Miss Mary Ann Leisk, practically an 'adopted daughter' of Miss Aldersey: E.A. White (1932) A Woman Pioneer in China. The life of Mary Ann Aldersey, London, Livingstone Press, p. 68. A.E. Moule (1879) The Story of the Cheh-Kiang Mission of the Church Missionary Society, London, Seeley, Jackson & Halliday, p. 33.
138 Notice, [On Miss Aldersey], FMI, 1860, n.s., III: pp. 211-12.
139 CMS Archives (see note 74), Ref. C CH/O 72/37B, Letter from Miss Aldersey to Rev. William A. Russell, 23 Jan 1861.
140 Ibid. At Hong Kong, a Foundling Hospital was run by German missionaries, originally inspired by Carl Gutzlaff, with some blind girls among the inmates. This was doubtless a compassionate work; but Agnes had tasted some freedom and personal 'usefulness' with Miss Aldersey, after 13 years in the London Institution. The prospect of returning to a Foundling Hospital, in whatever capacity, must have seemed alarming. See Mrs Schroeder (1882) An account of the Berlin Foundling Hospital, Bethesda, Women's Work in China V (No.2): 138-46.
141 A.E. Moule [1911] Half a Century in China, London, Hodder & Stoughton, p. 207.
142 Letter from Mr Russell, Church Missionary Record, November 1861, p. 348.
143 Extract from letter by Rev. W.H. Collins [quoting a letter from Miss Fay to Mrs Collins], 9 Jul 1866, Church Missionary Record, 1866, n.s. Vol. XI: 392.
144 R.A.W. (1867) The blind Chinese teacher, FMI, n.s. X: 33-4.
145 Fortieth Report, LonBl, 28 May 1878, pp. 15-16.

146 The long history of music teaching, by blind musicians to blind apprentices, must not be forgotten. Gutzlaff himself insisted that "In this ancient country we have been preceded in all our benevolent plans by some thousand years. There have been foundling hospitals and blind asylums since times immemorial. In the latter, the boys are taught by a blind teacher, who knows a good deal by heart, and the principal study is the art of divination." 11th ARMPI (1844) p. 21. There could, however, be no teaching of reading until some system of raised type had been adapted to Chinese languages. Prototype systems were invented and tried with a few individuals in Europe during at least three hundred years before Moon and Braille achieved widespread use. It is quite likely that the ingenuity of the vast Chinese population at some point also threw up individual schemes for teaching blind people - but apparently none became established.

147 Fortieth Report, LonBl, 28 May 1878, pp. 15-16.

148 The Chinese Hospital, North China Herald, 18 Apr 1874, pp. 331-4, on p. 333. Iveson had been part of the committee of the Blind Asylum at Shanghai, with Syle, see note 101.

149 Alexander Jamieson (1873) Report on the health of Shanghai, CGMR No. 4, pp. 92-105, on p. 100, footnote.

150 Wong & Lien-Teh, op. cit. (note 1), p. 380, suggest that the hospital was founded "early in the 'sixties". This hardly accords with reports of Agnes being seen in 1866 (see note 143). Mention of the Gutzlaff Hospital is absent from Shanghai's North China Herald in 1869 and 1870, when it was reporting the activities of other local hospitals and charities, e.g. 'The Hongque Mission Hospital' (9 Jan 1869, pp. 17-18; 'The Chinese Hospital' (12 Aug 1869), p. 431. Only fleeting mention is made of the Gutzlaff Hospital by Kerrie MacPherson (1987) A Wilderness of Marshes; the origins of public health in Shanghai, 1843-1893, Hong Kong, Oxford UP, pp. 65, 141, 297.

151 The compendium by Henry C. Burdett (1893) Hospitals and Asylums of the World, London, Churchill, Vol. III, p. 701, even stated that "The Gutylaff (*sic*) Hospital is for the blind..." This must be a confusion with Agnes's blindness. In any case, by 1883 the Gutzlaff Hospital had been amalgamated with St. Luke's Hospital, formerly the Hongkew Hospital.

152 See CGMR, No. 4: pp. 100, 103; 7: 43-4; 8: 64-5; 11: 57-8; 12: 10-13; 14: 45-7; 15: 6-9; 17: 18, 28-31; 18: 82; 19: 19, 21-4; 21: 83-4, 92; 26: 18-19.

153 Edward Henderson (1876-77) Notes on surgical practice among the natives in Shanghai, Edinburgh Med. J. XXII: 405-14; 679-90; and XXIII: 118-27, on pp. 683-9 and p. 122.

154 Alexander Jamieson (1878) Report on the health of Shanghai, CGMR No. 15, pp. 1-10, on p. 6.

155 Notes and Items, [Bishop Boone's speech], China Med. Missionary J., 1890, IV (No.3, Sept.) pp. 240-1.

156 Ibid., p. 241. See also note 148.

157 Wong & Lien-Teh, op. cit. (note 1), p. 453.

158 Ibid., pp. 290-1, 380, 420, 453.

159 Constance F. Gordon-Cumming (1899) The Inventor of the Numeral-Type for China, London, Downey & Co, pp. 16-17, 22-29. See also Idem (1904) Easy reading for illiterate Chinese, The East & The West II: 249-66. Gordon-Cumming's polemical championing of Murray, and subsequent heated exchanges, possibly contributed to the disappearance of earlier work from the record. See also: The Blind in China: a criticism of Miss Gordon-Cumming's Advocacy of the Murray Method, 1897, London, Sampson, Low, Marston.

160 H.B. Rattenbury (1949) David Hill, Friend of China, London, Epworth, p. 90.

161 W.H. Emberley (1896) School for the blind, Hankow, Work and Workers in the Mission Field V: 100-105. According to James S. Dennis (1899) Christian Missions and Social Progress, Edinburgh, Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, Vol. II, p. 379, the blind school at Hankow "was founded in 1888 by Mr. Crossette, an American missionary".

162 [Obituary] Mary W. Niles, CRec, 1933, LXIV: 176-7.

163 W.W. Cadbury (1935) At the Point of a Lancet, Shanghai, Kelley & Walsh, pp. 149-50.

164 See e.g. Gracias, op. cit. (note 18); A. Saulière (1917) A missionary tour in Bengal in 1598, Bengal: Past & Present 14 (2) 147-58.

165 Frank Penny (1904) The Church in Madras, London, Smith, Elder, pp. 101, 215-6, 313-4, 385-9.

166 Indigenous eye surgery is described in detail, quite favorably, by the Superintendent of the Native Medical Institution, Calcutta: Peter Breton (1826) On the native mode of couching, Trans. Med. & Physical Soc. Calcutta 2: 341-82. (But see the later adverse verdict of Drake-Brockman, op. cit., note 83). When Raja Kali Shanker Ghosal proposed an asylum for blind people at Benares, the alternative was suggested of an infirmary for eye treatment. This was "countered with the argument that the Native Hospital can perfectly well deal with all curable cases of blindness": India Office, Board's Collections, manuscript, volume F/4/955, 1827-1828, first group of correspondence. This Native Hospital had been founded in 1794, and by the 1820s was treating some 40,000 patients annually. Charles Lushington (1824) The History, Design, and Present State of the Religious, Benevolent and Charitable Institutions, Founded by the British in Calcutta and its Vicinity, Calcutta, Hindostanee Press, pp. 295, 299.

167 Kenneth Ingham (1956) Reformers in India 1793-1833, Cambridge, Cambridge UP, pp. 115-6.

168 Immanuel David (1986) Reformed Church in America Missionaries in South India, 1839-1938, Bangalore, Asian Trading Corp., p. 160.

169 K.P. Sen Gupta (1971) The Christian Missionaries in Bengal 1793-1833, Calcutta, Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, pp. 136-7, quoting correspondence with the Baptist Missionary Soc. in 1802 and a letter from Mrs A. Grant in 1803. "British" charitable efforts are here mentioned, though the missionaries' names given below indicate that Germans played a significant part in the work.

170 India Office, op. cit. (note 166 above).

171 Ibid. There were official censuses in British India from 1868 onwards, and data was collected on "infirmities", including blindness. Much earlier, however, the indefatigable surveyor Buchanan reported details of beggars in Purnea District c.1809, many of whom were disabled: Francis Buchanan (1928) An Account of the District of Purnea in 1809-10, edited by V.H. Jackson, Patna, Bihar and Orissa Research Soc., p. 165.

172 George Smith (1892) Henry Martyn, Saint and Scholar, London, Religious Tract Soc., p. 281, and pp. 283-4 (quoting from the memoirs of Mrs. M.M. Sherwood).

173 E. Daniel Potts (1967) British Baptist Missionaries in India 1793-1837, Cambridge, Cambridge UP, p. 69, (citing a letter from Mr. Mackintosh).

174 James Kennedy (1884) Life and Work in Benares and Kumaon 1839-1877, London, Fisher Unwin., p. 16.

175 E. de Crespigny (1857/58) Topography of Rutnagherry. Trans. Med. & Physical Soc. Bombay IV: 72-99, on p. 79.

176 Dennis, op. cit. (note 161), Vol. 2, p. 387. Kennedy, op. cit. (note-174), p. 17.

177 Buchanan, op. cit. (note 171), p. 165, mentioned "many lame, blind or other infirm persons belonging to poor families, that cannot give them food but who give

them accommodation and such assistance as is within their power, especially in sickness."

178 Adam White (1832) Memoir of the late David Scott, Esq. [annotation by Archibald Watson], Calcutta, p. 139, note. Also from the north east, the old Bengali ballads are a source of information on rural blindness. See the translations by Dinesh Chandra Sen (1926-1932) Eastern Bengal Ballads, Univ. Calcutta, e.g. Vol. I (I) p. 73; Vol. II (I) pp. 81-116 (Kānchanmālā, the Bride of a Blind Baby), pp. 200, 228, 383-86, 403, 424; Vol. IV (I) p. 50, pp. 211-37 (The Blind Lover), p. 389.

179 H.W. Bellew (1864) A General Report on the Yousafzais. Lahore, Government Press, p. 208.

180 Rajat Sanyal (1977) Indian participation in organized charity in early Calcutta, 1818-1866: a response to the poverty question, Bengal Past and Present 96: 97-113, on pp. 105-6.

181 Ibid., pp. 97, 109. Kennedy, op. cit. (note 174), p. 156, noted the "different motives, for love of name - *nam ke liye*, as the natives say, a motive for which their countrymen continually give them credit - for the acquisition of religious merit, and from benevolent feeling." Dennis, op. cit. (note 161), Vol. 2, p. 384, is less disparaging.

182 Charles B. Leupolt (1841) Report on Benares. Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society... Forty-First Year 1840-1841, London, p. 67. By 1833 the King's Poorhouse, Lucknow, was assisting many blind people. An asylum would soon be opened by Bombay Parsis (1845). F.M. Newbery, Magistrate, Lucknow, 1875; quoted in: C.W. Bailey [1888] A Glimpse at the Indian Mission-Field and Leper Asylums in 1886-87, London, John Shaw. p. 104. Edward B. Eastwick (1881) Handbook of the Bombay Presidency, 2nd edn, London, Murray, p. 143.

183 Henry S. Newman [1882] Days of Grace in India, London, Partridge, p. 263.

184 R. Chambers, quoted in: Agra and its Orphan Institutions, Church Missionary Intelligencer 1 (No.9), Jan 1850, 205-11, on p. 208.

185 J. Erhardt (1876) The Story of Secundra, CMG 3: 75-6.

186 Rev. C.T. Hoernle (1847) Seventh Report of the Agra Church Missionary Soc. & Orphan Institution Committee 1847. CMS Archives (note 74), Ref. CI 1/0 6/1/2.

187 T. [Only initial shown] (1879) The blind schoolmaster of Palamcotta, CMG 6: 65 & 76-7, on p. 65.

188-90 Ibid., p. 76.

191 Ibid., p. 77.

192 Ibid., p. 77. See also Rajaiah D. Paul (1961) Chosen Vessels: Lives of Ten Indian Christian Pastors of the 18th and 19th Centuries, Madras, Christian Literature Soc., pp. 195-201.

193 Priscilla Chapman (1839) Hindoo Female Education, London, Seeley & Burnside, p. 91. A "deaf and dumb" girl was also mentioned, who received several years integrated schooling in a Calcutta orphanage (p. 137).

194 First Report, LonBl, 19 Apr 1839, p. 11.

195 Third Report, LonBl, 28 Apr 1841, p. 11.

196 Seventh Report, LonBl, 22 Apr 1845 [year misprinted as 1844], p. 12.

197 Adam, W. (1838) Third Report on the State of Education in Bengal, Bengal Military Orphan Press, Calcutta, p. 268. History of the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East, London, Edward Suter, 1847, pp. 51-2. Chinese-and-India-Female-Education-Soc., MR, Sep 1835, p. 408. Julius Richter (1908) A History of Missions in India, transl. S.H. Moore, Edinburgh, Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, p. 339.

198 C.B. Leupolt (1884) Further Recollections of an Indian Missionary, London, Nisbet, pp. 243-7.

199 Ibid., p. 351.

200 Ibid., p. 198.

201 Fifth Report, Home Teaching for the Blind, 1861, London, pp. 12-13. The Benares Mission in fact had some of Moon's materials in 1856, or earlier: Mrs. W. Fison (ed.) (1859) Darkness and Light; or brief memorials of two blind deaf mutes: with facts relating to the origin of Moon's system etc, London, Wertheim, Macintosh & Hunt, p. 19. Moon's system was reportedly being used in 1853 by an unnamed Indian army officer "in preparing a Gospel in Hindustani for the multitudes of blind in India". Fifth Annual Report of the Fund for Embossing Books for the Blind, by Wm. Moon, on his Improved System of Reading, Brighton, Moon, 1853, p. 9.

202 Leupolt, op. cit (note 198), p. 245. Mrs Fuchs (1864) A letter from Banares, FMI, n.s., VII: 24-6. Mrs Fuchs also mentioned in passing that "About twenty of my blind women were carried off by cholera".

203 Leupolt, op. cit. (note 198).

204 A. Shakespear, President, and Members of the Committee of Raja Kalee Shunkur's Asylum, Benares ... Annual report and accounts of the Asylum for the year 1869. Printed in Annual Report of the Dispensaries of the North-Western Provinces for the Year 1869, Allahabad, 1870, Appendix II, pp. 26A-27A.

205 Ibid.

206 Leupolt, op. cit. (note 198), p. 245. In fact, a significant number of Indian Muslim teachers were blind men who had memorised the Holy Qu'ran and who taught this, or other books, by rote to classes of boys. On the negative side, a report on indigenous schools in the Punjab noted that more than 4,000 teachers could not read or write, and that "A larger number are blind or otherwise disabled." Report on the State of Education in the Punjab and its Dependencies for the Year 1882-83, Lahore, 1883, p. 8. More positively, the integrated education of blind students was reported from the famous training institute for Mullas at Deoband in the 1870s. G.W. Leitner (1882) History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab since Annexation and in 1882, Lahore, Republican Books, Part I, p. 79. Leitner named seven blind men who were noteworthy schoolteachers in the Punjab (Ibid., Part II, pp. 1, 17, 21, 35-36, 148, 161). Blind teachers would have a place of honour at private and public Muslim functions, which commenced with a recitation from the Holy Qu'ran, given by the teacher.

207 Mrs Dauble (1866) Our Orphans at Secundra, FMI, n.s., IX: 24-7, 37-40.

208 Ibid.

209 C.G. Daeuble (1865) Our orphans at Secundra, Agra, North India (continued), FMI n.s. VIII: 149-51.

210 Girls' Orphanage, Secundra, Agra, Letter from Mrs. Erhardt, FMI, 1871, n.s., XIV: 164-5.

211 Mrs Erhardt (1880) Schools in Secundra, Agra, FMI, n.s., XXII: 24-6. (This should have been Vol. XXIII. Volumes for 1876 and 1877 were both numbered XIX. The mistake was not corrected).

212 Editorial (1870) India, The Friend, Oct 1870, new series, 10: 232. Newman, op. cit. (note 183), pp. 278-9.

213 Leupolt, op. cit. (note 198).

214 [Charles Benjamin Leupolt], CMG, 1874, 1: 50-1.

215 Richter, op. cit. (note 197), p. 332.

216 Hyppolite van Landeghem [1863] Charity Misapplied. When Restored to Society, After Having Been Immured for Several Years in Exile Schools (Where They are Supposed to be Educated), the Blind and the Deaf and Dumb are Found to be Incapable of Self-Support; Hence They Often Become Street Mendicants or Inmates of Workhouses. Why? The Question Considered and Answered, 2nd edition, London.

217 Ibid., pp. 32-33.

218 Eighth Report & Speeches at the Annual Meeting, Society for Supplying Home Teachers and Books in Moon's Type etc, London, 1864, pp. 9-10. Robert Clark (1904) The Missions of the Church Missionary Society and the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society in the Punjab and Sindh, ed. and rev. by Robert Maconachie, London, Church Missionary Soc., pp. 73-4, 218.

219 Eighth Report, op. cit. (note 218), pp. 9-10.

220 Infanticide of blind girl babies and infants was reported from South India, on the basis of 25 years' experience, by Mrs Albrecht (1914) Discussion, Report of the International Conference of the Blind... Church House, Westminster... 1914, Bradbury, Agnew, p. 440. She thought that "blind boys may be allowed to live".

221 Sarah Secunda Hewlett (1898) "They Shall See His Face." Stories of God's Grace in work among the blind and others in India, Oxford, Alden, p. 48.

222 Archives of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Soc., Univ. Birmingham. ref. CEZ/G/EA2/2C Reminiscences of Miss Mary Fuller, 20th and 24th June, 1913. C.G. (1885) In Memoriam, Emma Fuller, IFE VIII (No. 55): 103-9, on pp. 103-4.

223 Hewlett, op. cit. (note 221), p. 50.

224 Ibid., p. 52. Miss Fuller (1880) Lahore, Report, IFE V: 1212-5. Idem (1882) Lahore Zenana Report, October 31, 1880 to October 31, 1881, IFE VI (No.41): 221-5.

225 Charlotte M. Tucker (1881) The Converts' Industrial Home, IW 1: 89-90. Margaret Smith (1881) Report from Amritsar, IW 1: 169-73. The Christian instructress mentioned here may have been 'Blind Sarah'.

226 Hewlett, op. cit. (note 221), pp. 52-3. An Appeal For Ferozepore, IFE, 1886, VIII (No. 57), pp. 212-14.

227 M.E. Hume Griffith (1927) Dust of Gold, London, Church of England Zenana Mission Soc., p. 30.

228 Hewlett, op. cit. (note 221), p. 45.

229 Ibid., p. 48.

230 Ibid., p. 48.

231 Annie Sharp (1890) Letter, dated 7 Oct 1889, to G. Martin Tait, [reprinted], IW 10: 221-2, on p. 221.

232 Ibid.

233 Hewlett, op. cit. (note 221), pp. 52-3. There were problems even with the mat work. Sharp remarked thriftily that one of the old women, who "elected to do this work instead of knitting with wool", produced such poor results that "when she has done a certain amount it is undone, wound up and given to her again, and she goes on quite happily; and we thus prevent her spoiling any quantity of string". Annie Sharp (1889) Light for the blind, IW 9: 206-8, on p. 206.

234 Hewlett, op. cit. (note 221), p. 50.

235 Ibid., p. 50.

236 Sharp, op. cit. (note 231), p. 222.

237 Ibid., p. 221.

238 Progress of Education in India, 1897-98 to 1901-02. Fourth Quinquennial Review, Vol. 1, London, HMSO, 1904, p. 396. Missionaries coming in contact with blind orphans or neglected blind children were sending them to Amritsar from far distant places: Miss F. Sharp (1898) St. Catherine's Hospital, IW 18: 114-15.

239 Progress, op. cit., (note 238), p. 396.

240 CEZMS Archives, op. cit. (note 222), CEZ/C/AM1 Vol. 1, Roll of Missionaries Register, Pasted slip on inside cover of Register, and p. 61.

241 Chauhan, op. cit. (note 21), p. 21.

242 Hume Griffith, op. cit. (note 227), p. 30. In Robert Clark's account of medical and blind work at Amritsar, op. cit. (note 218), pp. 58-61, Asho is not even named.

243 Irene H. Barnes (1899) Behind the Pardah. The story of C.E.Z.M.S. work in India, London, Marshall Brothers, p. 126.

244 Anne J. Askwith (1890) 'Sarah Tucker Institution' and Branch Schools; or, the Girls of Tinnevelly, IW 10: 307-10.

245 Anne J. Askwith (1884) Report from Sarah Tucker Institution, IW 4: 289-93.

246 Anne J. Askwith (1901) The blind children of Palamcotta, CMG 28: 124-5.

247 Report on Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency for 1895-96, Madras, 1896, p. 104.

248 Askwith, op. cit. (note 244). From this work, a school for deaf children developed under Florence Swainson; and in 1907 the education of a deaf and blind child named Pyari was reported: "She has responded in a marked degree to the training bestowed on her, and bids fair to be another Helen Keller." M. Saumarez Smith (1915) C.E.Z.M.S. Work among the Deaf in India & Ceylon, London, Church of England Zenana Missionary Soc., p. 7.

249 It will be argued that some had the further 'disadvantage' of being part of a colonised people. In a general sense this may indeed count as a disadvantage; yet it is by no means apparent that active blind people fared better in China, which was hardly colonised, by comparison with India; or did worse in British India as compared with the Indian Native States. Even those who would conventionally be regarded as powerful, i.e. male, sighted, westerners, were present in the 'irregular' role of missionary. They felt obliged from time to time to dissent from 'official' policies as in the opium trade with China or the East India Company's reluctance to tackle gross social evils; and were thus partly distinguishable from the conventionally denounced 'forces of colonialism'.

250 Dev Raj Seth [c.1936?] "A History of Western Education in India" 1854-1920. A thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, p. 285. [No date or place shown. Typescript, library of SOAS, Univ. London. Latest reference cited is from 1933].

251 W.W. Taylor & I.W. Taylor (1970) Services for the Handicapped in India, New York, International Soc. for Rehabilitation of the Disabled, pp. 155, 165-6.

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